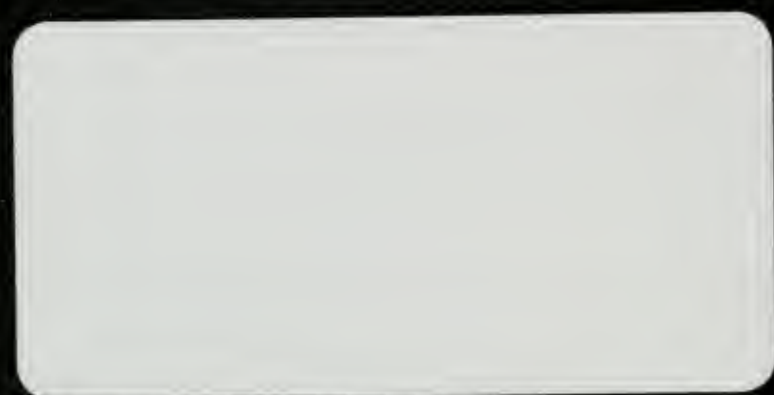


AN EMIGRE LIFE

MARTA FEUCHTWANGER

VOLUME II







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AN EMIGRE LIFE
MUNICH, BERLIN, SANARY, PACIFIC PALISADES

Marta Feuchtwanger

Interviewed by Lawrence M. Weschler

VOLUME II

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TAPE NUMBER: IX, SIDE ONE

JULY 14, 1975 and JULY 15, 1975

WESCHLER: We are in the middle of Roda Roda's story about Feuchtwanger's car.

FEUCHTWANGER: This was later, in Berlin. "Feuchtwanger took some driving lessons, and that was his first time out. He drove through the [Kronprinzen Allee], and all of a sudden he ran against a tree. Feuchtwanger went out and around the car and said, 'Fine, but how do I stop the car if there is no tree?'" That's Roda Roda.

WESCHLER: Well, perhaps you could tell us more about Brecht in the early days.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. Brecht was always in Augsburg when he had no money. One day his father came to my husband and asked him, "You know, I wanted my son to be a doctor. But he now wants to be a writer. You already have success, so I wanted to ask your advice. Do you think he should be a writer? Do you think he has talent?" So my husband said, "I can only say one thing: I never advise a young man to be a writer, because it's a very hard job, and I know from experience. But if your son wouldn't write, wouldn't continue to write, it would be a crime." So the father said, "That's all right, I believe you. So I will give him his monthly check, and he can be a writer."

He was a little depressed, because a doctor would have been better anyway. But then he left, and before he went out of the door, he turned around and said to my husband, "You know, I am a manufacturer of paper. I make beautiful white paper, and then they go and print on it." [laughter]

WESCHLER: So, in a way his son was going to be one of the greatest of the criminals in this regard.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, the beautiful white paper. [laughter] And a funny thing--[remember how] in Brecht's play Spartacus [Drums in the Night], which was a drama, somebody says, "Now we go in the big white bed"? Do you remember the ending?*

WESCHLER: Right.

FEUCHTWANGER: [laughter] And there is another thing. He was very much liked by women. He didn't look very good--you couldn't say that--but he had something of a Gothic saint, you know: a very thin face, and bones, a bony face, and deep-lying eyes. And also his hair was, in a way, grown into his forehead, so he looked not like everybody. And the Weiber [women] were very much in love with him. They ran after him, mostly the actresses. And his friend [Otto] Mullereisert, who was a doctor, always said, "I think he seduced the women with his guitar playing." He was always sitting in a corner somewhere on the floor, singing his ballads with a very shrill voice. And the *Kragler's penultimate line in Drums in the Night (Act V): "Now comes the bed, the great, white, wide bed, come!" ("Jetzt kommt das Bett, das grosse weisse, breite Bett, komm!")

women just fainted almost, you know. Anyway, he was very successful.

Once there was an evening at the theater director's-- Engel, Erich Engel, who made the first performance of the Threepenny Opera. And like always, because he had not much room in his apartment--we had not enough chairs--we were sitting around on mattresses, and Brecht was sitting in one corner. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Brecht was sitting in one corner...

FEUCHTWANGER: ...in one corner, and singing, and he sang something which I had given him the plot for. I found in the newspaper a story about a young boy who killed his parents and lived always with the bodies in the apartment and didn't know what to do with the bodies. At first it was all right, and then the woman who came with the milk said, "It smells so funny." (It's in the ballad, you know.) And it ends up that finally, of course, they found the bodies, and then they buried them. I cut it out from the newspaper, gave it to him, and he made a ballad out of it. And he sang it. It is very funny, and at the same time also tragic. My help, who was a woman of peasant's descent, she came to me after she read about this--[Jacob] Apfelböck was the name, which is a funny name of the apple, you know, like an apple--and she said, "Isn't that terrible, this boy who kills his parents? What do you think would he do

when he goes to the grave of his parents?" Of course, he was condemned to death, you know, and he would never go to their graves. So this was a funny question. I told Brecht this question, and this was the point, then, of the ballad of Brecht.* When he sang that, he looked at me, because I gave him the whole idea (he also gave me the first little handwritten manuscript of it). He smiled at me when the end comes, which my maid, my help, had told me. He smiled at me, and I smiled back. And then there was a famous actress from Berlin, who visited him there--she was very much in love with Brecht--and she ran across the whole room to stand before me and said, "You don't laugh when Brecht sings." Afterwards we danced a little bit; Brecht danced with me, and he said, "Don't you think she is a little bit strenuous?" That was all he said about it. [laughter] Gerda Müller was her name. She was a very, very famous actress, and she played also in his plays. I think she played the queen in Edward [II]. But she was so upset that I smiled about Brecht. I admired her also; I didn't even answer her.

Then he met another actress--I don't know when or where.... Yes, I know. There was a Dramaturg [Otto Zoff]--that is, a man who reads the plays for the theater and also has a voice in hiring actors and actresses--and

* Brecht's ballad, "Apfelböck oder die Lilie auf dem Felde," ends with the phrase "Ob Jakob Apfelböck wohl einmal noch// Zum Grabe seiner armen Eltern geht?"

he had a sister. This sister came from Vienna to see him-- he was also a very well known writer--and so Brecht met this sister. She was an opera singer in Wiesbaden at the State Theatre and had a very good career before her. She was very good looking, like a madonna a little bit. She also had a very rich friend in Munich who had a publishing house. Anyway, Brecht fell in love with her, and she with him.

WESCHLER: What was her name?

FEUCHTWANGER: She is still living. Marianne Zoff was her maiden name. She is married now to an actor, [Theo] Linggen, in Vienna. Her daughter, who is the daughter of Brecht because they married afterwards, is called Hiob [Hanne], and she played in the first performance of Mother Courage (she played the daughter Kattrine, the mute daughter). But then they were not married yet. Brecht made the opera and theater look bad to her. He could persuade her that this was not the career for a woman and also that the only career is to be his wife. So she really left the opera and went with him to Munich and lived very poorly with him. But before she married him, she had to leave her boyfriend who was this great publisher. And before they were married-- this man was very jealous, of course--and once, when Brecht was at our house, somebody called us and said, "You know that this man"--I don't remember his name [Herr Best?]

"is going up and down before your house and is going to kill Brecht." So we told Brecht, "You can't go away. There is still this man down there outside who wanted to kill you." All those things happened. [laughter] But he became cold feet probably and didn't kill him.

WESCHLER: Thankfully, for German literature. [pause in tape] You were just going to tell us some more stories about Brecht, him and actresses in general.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. They all fell in love with him, mostly the young actresses, partly because they liked him or he impressed them, but also because they thought they could get good parts in his plays. Once, a young actress who was blond--and I know that he didn't like blond girls--she came and told my husband that she was expecting a child of Brecht, and what should she do? My husband had him come and said, "Listen, Brecht. May I ask you a silly question?: Do you have always to make children?" And Brecht said, "A silly answer: yes."

WESCHLER: Was it Brecht's child?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was Brecht's child, but I think she had an abortion. He had also before already a child in Augsburg. This girl later married a doctor.

WESCHLER: Was that child born?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. He had a child, and Brecht's father took care of her. The mother was later married, and I think the

man adopted this girl.

WESCHLER: Did Brecht have any feelings of closeness to this daughter?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, then he had forgotten the girl and forgotten the whole thing. The father took care of everything. He was very young, I think seventeen or so. He also didn't want to marry--they just wanted him all the time--maybe in those days he didn't know how to prevent to get a child. [laughter]

WESCHLER: I wanted to explore a little bit more closely the relationship between Lion and Brecht. Clearly Lion was one of the earliest people--not only to discover but to promote Brecht and really help him along. Would you say that Lion was Brecht's teacher in any way?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, no. I couldn't say that. I think they were very different in a way; they could impress one another, but not as teachers. For instance, when my husband was writing Thomas Wendt, he spoke about it to Brecht and said, "I am trying a new kind of form; I call it the epic drama." He told him about that. He didn't give it to him to read--he hadn't finished it yet--but he spoke about it. "I think sometimes you cannot express your ideas very well in a play because you are bound to the form of the play, to the different acts and scenes. But I want to make short scenes and long scenes the way I feel that just this point has to be

made." Brecht was very impressed about that, and he also changed from then on his whole method of writing plays.

Drums in the Night had been written in the old way of several acts (every act has to be balanced with the other), but his later plays were much more formless, because he was impressed with this new form which my husband used for the first time. But there was no other kind of teaching.

WESCHLER: In the case of their collaboration on Edward II, what did that collaboration consist of?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was very funny. I think they compensated each other. My husband had more sense for buildup and also for logic. Brecht was always going on and on and on; he never would have found an end. It was like an open-ended play for him--which is the only way to do it, I think. A play cannot be ended because then it would have been done, over. It should be like life which goes on also, and that was also a little bit of the feeling of Brecht. From his studies and his practice, Lion had more sense of the form, the architectural form. That's why they compensated each other. Brecht liked to work on something. He never wanted to end the work. That is a kind of poetical stance, I could say. Also what Brecht didn't have was logic--maybe it could even be so that someone had died before and then could be alive afterwards. This is an exaggeration, but it happened in other plays. He had [little sense of] sequence, and my husband had much

more. So they compensated each other, and it was a very fruitful work together.

WESCHLER: How did it actually take place? Would one of them write a draft and give it to the other?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no. Every word was written together.

WESCHLER: They sat together in a room?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, they sat together and gave each other the word. Once my husband said, "This isn't logical."

And Brecht said, "That's just what I want. I don't want it logical." Sometimes they quarreled. I remember later, when I was in Berlin, I came home from the market one day, and my help said, "Oh, I am so glad you came home; Mr. Brecht is just killing the poor doctor." I came in and said, "Why do you think that?" She said, "First I heard both of them, and now I hear only Mr. Brecht shouting; the poor doctor doesn't say a word." [laughter] So I went in and they were both sitting there and laughing. They had really had a sharp controversy and discussion, and when it was finished then they laughed together. So it was like that; they were quarreling and discussing--not quarreling, but discussing things. And once I remember that--we lived in Munich on the fourth floor--and Brecht left; he lived very near. They couldn't find the right word or the right expression, and he left without finishing. And, at twelve o'clock that night, we heard somebody whistling

downstairs. My husband went to the window; Brecht was there, and he said, "Doctor, you were right!" He always called him "Doctor." So sometimes it was like that, and sometimes my husband gave in, of course. For instance, with Simone, I usually was with them when they were together. Brecht wanted me always. First of all, he wanted an audience always. He was inspired if somebody was sitting there. I think it could even be somebody who couldn't even understand the language. He just needed somebody: he made gestures; he went around; he wasn't sitting there. My husband was usually sitting at his desk, but Brecht went up and down, gesturing, so he needed an audience. Sometimes he also asked me what I would say. Once they couldn't find a turning point which would bring about a solution. They asked me in from the kitchen, told me what they were looking for, and I had an idea which they accepted. It was in Kalkutta, 4. Mai which they adapted from my husband's first play, Warren Hastings. They accepted this turn and Brecht said, "I think it is a very good idea and we accept it. Your husband should have to pay you \$450 for that." And later, every time I met Brecht, he would say, "Did your husband give you the \$450?" [laughter]

WESCHLER: Had he?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was also that I didn't intend to accept it. [laughter]

WESCHLER: As long as we're on Kalkutta, 4. Mai, how did that come about?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, my husband had long forgotten about this play Warren Hastings, and also he was already quitting the theater and writing his novels. But Brecht found this play so effectful, and he said, "We should adapt it for modern times."

WESCHLER: It was all of ten years old at this point.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. But he thought it should be adapted. He asked my husband so often and then he insisted so much that my husband finally gave in. Then it has been played in Berlin at the State Theatre. It was a very interesting performance, but not what my husband was thinking about it. Some scenes had been taken out which he found important. The next day in a review of an important critic, there was written, "We didn't get an explanation for (this and that)." And these were just the scenes which they left out. But it was a great success, mostly because the actor was so good. It was Rudolf Foster; he went to England during the vacation, to the Isle of Man, to study English mores. His performance was against my husband's idea of the man, but he was so effectful that it was a great success. And Sybille Binder played, who was very beautiful, and she sang a song which Brecht made for her, "The Surabaya Jhonny."

WESCHLER: That was in that play?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. It was in that play.

WESCHLER: So you were perhaps one of the first people to ever hear that song.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: Brecht, in addition to being a playwright at this time, was also a director.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but I wanted to tell you something still about how they wrote: sometimes when they had discussed a long time, they went into Lion's study where the secretary was, and my husband usually dictated what there had been spoken before. Then he gave Brecht a copy and he kept a copy, and overnight they both worked on this copy. Then Brecht came back the next day and they took it over again.

WESCHLER: With all kinds of arguments.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes.

WESCHLER: About his being a director: for one thing, he directed the performance of Edward II, didn't he?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he did, but not officially. Officially it was Bernhard Reich who directed it; but, of course, Bernhard Reich hadn't much to say.

WESCHLER: What was he like as a director? He was a young man....

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was a tyrant when he was directing. He was so obsessed from the whole thing that people, the girls, the actresses, had to play on and on again, and

sometimes.... I remember Maria Koppenhöfer, who was one of my best friends there--she was later a great actress in Berlin; she was still very young, not the great actress yet--she really ended up in tears. The actors said, "We don't want to have anything to do anymore," and left the scene. In the end it was all friendship again. Everything was forgotten because they found that he had such a new way of leading an actor, and also of explaining and of being a director, that everything was forgotten.

WESCHLER: Were you present at some of the rehearsals?

FEUCHTWANGER: I was always present; he insisted always that I be there.

WESCHLER: You were his traveling audience.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but during the rehearsals, there were also other people there, of course. But my husband said that he cannot come to every rehearsal--"I write my novels now!" He was so much in the midst of his work, and when he came, he did it only out of friendship.

WESCHLER: You say that Brecht had such a new way of leading an actor or an actress. How would you describe that?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. What he always said was, "First comes the gesture, and then comes the word." That was a new way, also the way they had to move. Mostly he didn't allow many movements. I remember when he directed [Blandine] Ebinger--not long ago she visited me from Berlin--she then was the

wife of Friedrich Holländer, who was a composer who composed the most famous songs in those days (he composed the music to The Blue Angel, for instance, all those songs which Marlene Dietrich sang, "I am from head to foot with love," or something like that). Anyway, Ebinger he directed in a pantomime. He said, "You know, she has to be thin and vicious," he said, "thin and vicious." [laughter] And he made always those gestures. He made the gestures also for the actors. "Before the words should come the gestures, or the position, or the movement."

WESCHLER: I take it that these were some pretty astoundingly successful plays.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but the funny thing is he never had success with a great audience--nowhere except in Germany.

WESCHLER: Weren't they successful in Munich right away from the very start?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not with the audience; they were literary successes. In Munich it was only the Edward, the Drums in the Night and the Edward. The other things were all done in Berlin. The greatest success was The Threepenny Opera, which he didn't like anymore afterwards.

WESCHLER: The Threepenny Opera. But that's in Berlin, and we are going to save that for later. But in Munich would you say that he was well known?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not very well known. The same with here: he was well known, but he was not played. He is not played

very much in America, and yet he's so famous. He has been played at the Lincoln Center last year, I think, in Galileo, but it didn't go on to the next year like a big hit. Or Mother Courage. The greatest success in New York was also The Threepenny Opera, but it was in such a small theater--I think it held only a hundred people or so--it played, of course, for years because it was a small theater. Mother Courage has been played--by mistake, it has been promised to two theaters. At first, they wanted to make a lawsuit out of it. Finally they decided both could play it. Then the one who made it more spectacular had no success, and the one which was in a kind of little avant-garde theater and almost amateurish had the greatest success with it.

WESCHLER: Well, I think we are going to close fairly quickly for today. But one last set of questions about Brecht concern his politics in the very early days in Munich.

Later on, he was avowedly leftist in his politics and so forth. But my sense is that early on, in 1920-21-22, he didn't really have any kind of thought-out leftist approach.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was very funny: he went to Berlin and came back much more to the left than when he was in Munich.

WESCHLER: What was he like in Munich?

FEUCHTWANGER: In Munich he was liberal, like we all were.

It was not the obvious left. When he was in Berlin, he met Hele[ne] Weigel, whom he married later when he divorced

his first wife. She was very communistic. She was from a very wealthy Viennese family which had a big department store, but she was a communist, an outright communist. And she always was. He met her, and she had a great influence on him. But still he was not so outright. The first thing which was a little was the Kuhle Wampe, if you know that film. That was the most near to the people and the proletariat.

WESCHLER: Did he talk about politics very much during those early years in Munich?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was not necessary, because we were all of the same opinion. Only we didn't [belong] to any party. We were pacifists and we were liberals; we were for the leftists. Even if we were not leftists ourselves, we were for the leftists. We were for the Räteregierung [and when] we saw that the revolution didn't lead to anything, we thought it could have been better [except that] it was murdered--you know, Eisner, Erzberger, and Rathenau, Lieb knecht, Rosa Luxemburg, all of them murdered. There was also one of the leaders in the north, a man named [Hugo] Haase, who was a deputy of the parliament, and he was also murdered. He was the only leader of the Independent Socialists. So there was no leader anymore for the leftists. Of course, we were all pacifists and against violence; we were against those antirevolutionaries, so we were for the

revolution. But I remember also that after the premiere of Kuhle Wampe, I had a car and Brecht didn't have a car yet, so we went together. My husband went with other people, and then we met all together in the café on the zoo. That was on the first story. I took Brecht with me and a man by the name of Fritz Sternberg. He was a communist writer-- Marxist, let's say, a theoretical Marxist. We went together, and we were sitting there. We were the first to come, and we were all alone at the long table waiting for the others. They spoke together, and Sternberg explained communism to Brecht. That was just after the first performance of Kuhle Wampe. He explained it, and Brecht said, "Yes, I think you are right." That was at the turning point when he became a communist. First he was very much influenced by Hele Weigel, by his wife. But this was [when] he made a decision, and it was Fritz Sternberg who did it. I don't know if Fritz Sternberg ever knew what an impression he made on Brecht. Fritz Sternberg was then here also; he came to see us, but he couldn't stay here because he was a Marxist.

WESCHLER: He couldn't get citizenship papers?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not only that. He could not even get permission to stay as a noncitizen.

WESCHLER: Well, we're beginning to get more political again, and the next person in the wings to talk about is Hitler. We'll begin with him next time. [pause in tape]

Very quickly, one additional note: the name of the philosopher who was at Ludwig Feuchtwanger's house was Max Scheler.

FEUCHTWANGER: He was half Catholic and half Jewish because he married a Feuchtwanger. No--his father married a Feuchtwanger. Max couldn't become a professor in Munich because he had a duel with somebody. So that was out; even though he was Catholic, he couldn't become a professor at the university. But he became famous--he is still now famous as a philosopher. You can find him in every philosophical work.

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WESCHLER: Today, we are eventually going to start talking about the political situation in 1921-22-23, in Munich, but first we are going to talk a bit more about the literary scene. You had some more memories, and in particular about a woman novelist who you wanted to talk about.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that was another of those carnivals, a fiesta, I could say, where the artists made all the decorations and the people came in fancy costumes.

WESCHLER: This is Fasching?

FEUCHTWANGER: Right. Mostly self-made costumes and very artistic usually, and it was very gay. My husband and I, we went usually to those balls together, but inside the door we

lost each other. Everyone went on his own adventures. After I had danced with many people.... I remember also that I danced with one man who made an anti-Semitic remark because he didn't think that I was Jewish; then I said, "There is a proverb that says, 'A good German man doesn't like the French man but he likes the French wine,' and I wanted to tell you that you don't like the Jews, but you like the Jewish women." I told him that and then I left him. And when I left him, all of a sudden, I saw Lion sitting somewhere with a bottle of wine--I don't know if it was French wine--and a girl was sitting on his knees. He motioned that I should come over to him, and the girl jumped up because he told her, "That's my wife." She was very, very embarrassed, but I put her at ease and told her to sit down. Then she told me that she was studying in Munich.

WESCHLER: What was her name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Marieluise Fleisser. She was from Ingolstadt; that's a little town in the north of Munich on the Danube, and it was always a garrison. Later on, but much later, she wrote a play about the engineers, the soldier-engineers of Ingolstadt [Pioniere in Ingolstadt] which was a big scandal, and she almost had to leave the little town. But at that time she was still a student of [Arthur] Kutscher. There she met Brecht, who also went sometimes to the lectures of Kutscher, and Brecht spoke to her about Feuchtwanger.

When she saw my husband, she recognized him from the pictures in newspapers, and that's why she came to him and wanted to make his acquaintance and immediately sat on his knees. She thought that was the easiest way to make an acquaintance. She was very well built, had very white skin and blond hair and blue eyes--but her eyes were a little too light; they had no real color. She had something--I called her a Sumpfbblume, that means a flower that grows in a swamp; she looked like that, you know. Also a little lässig [indolent]. She wanted my husband's advice: she wanted to be a writer too and wanted to know if she could come some day. He agreed, and she brought with her at the same time what she had written. And those were poems which were just awful. I read some of them. They were romantic and kitsch; the worst was that they were so cute. She writes about her little toe--she hangs her little toe into the water in a little brook or something like that--in verses. My husband told her, "That's not writing; you cannot do that. I have never read something like that. You cannot read what I write--that wouldn't be in your line--but you should read Brecht, which is poetry. You should read him and see what one can do with the German language." She did that, and she immediately not only fell in love with Brecht and imitated him, of course, but she was absolutely devoted to him in every

way. Like a serf, you could say.

WESCHLER: What was the German word you used off tape?

FEUCHTWANGER: Hörig. I didn't find the right translation for it.

WESCHLER: She acted almost slavishly.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but it was not only that--it was also spiritual.

WESCHLER: Was that common with Brecht and women?

FEUCHTWANGER: Very often, yes, but never had I seen it like that. Because she was a writer and an artist, too, so it was much more serious. It was not just a fleeting moment of sexuality or so; she was so dependent on him. Also he did so much for her. He immediately recognized what she could do. After she had read his works she had changed completely. She wrote a play which was called Purgatory [Fegefeuer] which was also in the little town where she lived. He was instrumental that it has been played in Berlin, with a great literary success but not success at all financially and without a big audience. But she got a very important literary prize for this play. She wrote a book about her own experiences,* and she always compares Feuchtwanger with Brecht. She said she learned more from the wise Feuchtwanger than from Brecht, and that it was very painful, her relationship with Brecht. She always came to Feuchtwanger for advice and for comfort. After the war she

* Materialien zum Leben und Schreiben der Marieluise Fleisser, edited by Günther Ruehle, Edition Luhrkamp.

wrote him immediately; she said that during the Nazi time, where she had a very bad time in Bavaria, that she could manage to read all his books which he wrote in the meantime.

WESCHLER: Secretly, of course.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course.

WESCHLER: Talking about Brecht and women: was Brecht one who got very turbulently involved with women, or were they more or less incidental?

FEUCHTWANGER: For the moment, but they were usually short moments. I don't think that he was very much involved with women. It was so easy for him. He could have anyone he wanted. But also he had a special taste, and he didn't like most of the women. For instance, he didn't like blond women, and Fleisser was blond, pale and colorless--everything was colorless on her--but she had a wonderful body. So he was indifferent in the relationship with her, sexually. He was very much for her talent and wanted to help her, but he couldn't stand her for very long.

By the way, he wanted to marry me. Between his two marriages which he had, he thought I could marry him too. [laughter] But I was already....

WESCHLER: To which you said....

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I didn't even answer him, and he didn't insist when he saw it was not possible. He just mentioned it in passing.

WESCHLER: That will at least earn you a footnote somewhere.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. He wanted it really, but he was too proud to insist when he saw that he had no success. But we were always very good friends. Usually when I didn't respond, the men were sometimes great enemies afterwards; they wanted to destroy my marriage and things like that. Many men. But he was never like that. He immediately understood, and there was nothing changed in our friendship.

WESCHLER: Did that create any tension between him and Lion?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, Lion didn't know about it. But the only thing what he said was, "You know, I have no bad conscience against your husband. What I did has nothing to do with him; I'm not sorry about it, and I have no bad conscience."
[laughter]

WESCHLER: And everybody lived happily ever after.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, absolutely. Also even if I would have liked him very much--I liked him very much but not in this sense--I would never have done it with a friend of my husband. Because I think friendship is much more important than sexual adventure. There are so few real good friendships, and this friendship between Brecht and Feuchtwanger was so unusual because it was a human friendship and it was also collaboration in the literary work. And that was something which wouldn't happen so often. I didn't want to destroy that. That's why I didn't even [consider it]. It happened

with other friends of his also. One said always that I am "a spine in his flesh."

WESCHLER: "A thorn in his flesh."

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, "a thorn in his flesh." So let's [laughter] let it be.

WESCHLER: You had said that Fleisser was a student of Kutcher's, and I wanted to talk a little bit about Kutcher, and then about...

FEUCHTWANGER: There was another professor named [Friedrich] van der Leyen.

WESCHLER: Well, let's talk first about Kutcher for a second, and then....

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know much about Kutcher. I met him several times at Heinrich Mann's house; he lived very near to Heinrich Mann's house and also not far from us. I only remember that Kutscher means "coachman." So during these masquerades, he always had a blue coat, a loose coat like a peasant coachman. So everybody knew this is Kutcher.

WESCHLER: He is talked about a good deal in many Brecht biographies. Was he central to the community at all?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, he was very much in the literary [life]. But nobody of our circle was a friend of his; they knew him, but he was not a friend of all our friends. Maybe just with Heinrich Mann, but even there not a very near friend. It was after the war that he became important,

because he was left over from those good times, you know, the twenties. There was a vacuum, and there Kutcher was, who knew everybody. He was not known as a Nazi, so nobody had anything against him politically. He had no Nazi stigma. So he wrote books about Wedekind and Brecht and everybody. He knew them all personally--Brecht not so much.

WESCHLER: Had he been one of Brecht's teachers?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I told you that Marieluise met Brecht [in his class]. But he was not his teacher, because Brecht didn't want to have a teacher; he was just there. He studied medicine, and so he went into the class because it was literature; but he didn't follow it, and he did not study literature. He didn't even read literature, you know. Most of the books, the important books of world literature, he didn't read.

WESCHLER: Did he never read them, or he just hadn't at the time he started writing?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he never read big books usually. I think my husband was the only author he really read, but I am not so sure.

Anyway, during the Hitler time, he visited us in the south of France where we lived, and we made an excursion together with the car. My husband was working, as always, and so we spoke about Lion's work. And he said, "I make you

responsible: now he is writing this Flavius Josephus book, and I know what it is all about, and you are responsible that it won't become too chauvinistic. I make you responsible!" [laughter] That was our relationship. But it was always wonderful to be with him; we had so much in common, and we understood each other without speaking. I could drive with him without speaking. It was a beautiful friendship.

WESCHLER: You wanted to talk about van der Leyen also.

FEUCHTWANGER: He was a professor, and Lion had to be in his classes.

WESCHLER: This is when Lion was a young man.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, he was a student but he was already grown up. He had to write a paper about the classic Austrian playwright, [Fritz] Grillparzer, of whom I know that my husband had great respect and also admired him in many ways. But it must have been about a play which he didn't like, and van der Leyen was very upset that it was so arrogant and even sloppily written. He told him that in front of all the students. But then he saw that Feuchtwanger, who was rather shy and spoiled--or so he thought at least, the spoiled son of a very rich old family from Bavaria--he saw that he had tears in his eyes when he spoke like that to him. Afterwards Lion came to him and said that he wanted to thank him; he thinks he deserved his blame, and he thinks

he was too much spoiled by the praise of other professors who found everything that he wrote so good. He thinks that it was a great service to him that he spoke so frankly with him. Van der Leyen found this very courageous; it never happened to him, something like that, that this timid man was so frank and so honest and spoke to him like that.

And from then on he had great friendship for him.

WESCHLER: This story, by the way, is told in detail in a book we've just been looking at. What's the name of this book?

FEUCHTWANGER: Immortal Munich [Unsterbliches München], and it is written by Hanns Arens. He brought it to me when I was in Munich. He came to my hotel and brought it to me. It is the book about Munich, really about the whole period, let's say, from 1890 on.

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WESCHLER: We're continuing with some more details about the literary history of Munich and particularly again about Bertolt Brecht. You have an interesting story about the time around Drums in the Night.

FEUCHTWANGER: I think I told you about this premiere, the first night when all the critics came from Berlin.

WESCHLER: This is Edward II now.

FEUCHTWANGER: Edward II, ja, ja.

WESCHLER: Let me ask first, what had been the impact of Drums in the Night?

FEUCHTWANGER: The impact in Drums in the Night: it came to Berlin and has been played there, and was a sensation with the literary circles and also the critics, most of the critics. The most important was against him.

WESCHLER: This was [Alfred] Kerr?

FEUCHTWANGER: That was Alfred Kerr of the most important newspaper [the Berliner Tageblatt], and also himself a writer. But there was another critic, Jhering, and he was from a not so big but still very good newspaper, also more conservative [the Börsen-Courier]; the newspaper was more conservative, but he was more avant-gardish. He immediately found Brecht--you had the impression that he discovered Brecht. But he

would have never heard about Brecht if Lion hadn't discovered him in Munich.

WESCHLER: But neither of them would have heard about him if Brecht hadn't been as great as he was.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. When the [Berlin] State Theatre, Jessner's theater, had the intention to perform Edward II--which was a great success in Munich--the critic of whom I spoke just now, who was more avant-gardistic, he wrote a letter to my husband saying, "You are already an established writer, and we both are very interested in Brecht. I think we have to help him in every way to make his career. I think it would be better if you would not write on the program, 'by Feuchtwanger and Brecht,' but instead only mention Brecht's name." My husband, who was very proud, did not say, "I don't think so; we wrote it together," or something like that--just "all right." And then nobody mentioned Feuchtwanger when this play had been played. It was also a great literary success but there was no response from the audience. It was too early for this kind of what they called Entfremdung, "alienation." It was not understood yet. But when the book was printed, Brecht insisted that on the second page it would say, "I wrote this play with Lion Feuchtwanger."

WESCHLER: We talked a good deal about their collaboration. I've read somewhere that it was Lion's insisting to Brecht that the language be more chopped, that Brecht's language was

too smooth.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, that was Fleisser who wrote that.

Marieluise Fleisser wrote that in her memoirs. She wrote that she found that Feuchtwanger "roughed up" the language of Brecht because he found it too smooth. I cannot say about that. I wouldn't know that. Maybe Brecht told that to her.

WESCHLER: But you wouldn't vouch for it.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I didn't say it, but Fleisser wrote it. You can read it in her book. It must be. I cannot explain it otherwise than that he told it to her.

WESCHLER: We can come back again later on to the literary scene in Munich, but I think right now I would like to move slowly over into political history again. Now, when we last left the political scene in Munich we had the Soldiers and Workers Councils of the Räteregierung, and they had been overturned by the White Guard.

FEUCHTWANGER: I think I forgot to call it by the right name. It was called the Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants Movement. I forgot the workers, I think; I called it only the Soldier and Peasant Rat (Soviet). The most important thing was the workers, of course.

WESCHLER: But in any case it was overthrown very early on by the White Guards coming from the north.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course, because it was against the

socialist government in Berlin and they didn't want that. There came complaints from Bavaria, not from the socialists so much but from the conservatives and reactionaries. In Berlin they didn't recognize that, that it was the reactionaries who did the whole trouble. The whole thing was because Eisner had been killed. Instead of making diplomatic movements, they just sent their troops there. The troops were well trained from the war--it was not long after the war. They were used to kill everybody. Everybody who was in their way or who they suspected, mostly peasants--they just killed them. When somebody denounced another man who he didn't like and said that he had a gun, they just killed him without any trial. Immediately put on the wall and killed. It was like those paintings of Goya.

WESCHLER: What kind of government did Bavaria have after that?

FEUCHTWANGER: It became very conservative, of course.

WESCHLER: And what kind of manifestations were there in the public life? Was there censorship, for instance? How did you sense that in your daily life?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, there was no censorship, but it was not necessary because everything became reactionary all of a sudden. All the newspapers became as reactionary as they were before the war when the kaiser was still there. So there was no censorship in this way with the newspapers.

Except that those who were from the Communists, they were, of course, not allowed to be printed. But I don't remember any real Communist newspapers--one was called independent socialist, but it was very near to communism [Neue Zeitung (?)]. I remember a young publisher of this independent newspaper and his young wife [the Martins]. They were very handsome people; you wouldn't think that they were in any way terrorists or so. We were all very hungry. Once we met them at those carnival things, and they told us, "You know we are always hungry and we don't have enough to eat, so we do gymnastics." (It must have been something like yoga, but they didn't know about yoga in those days.) "That helps us. You are less hungry when you make gymnastics." I remember that even until now how that was something quite new, that when you make movement, exercise--I thought always that makes appetite, but they said it helps them with breathing and not to feel so hungry. I think that must be something like a Bavarian yoga. [laughter]

WESCHLER: So Bavaria was having all varieties of stirrings.

FEUCHTWANGER: Absolutely, and all those young people, they were so idealistic and not terroristic at all. Those who were terrorists were the reactionaries.

WESCHLER: There is the famous story of the member of Parliament coming in and saying, "The enemy is on the right!"

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, that was one of the presidents of

Germany before Hitler who said that [Chancellor Joseph Wirth].

WESCHLER: On the right, as opposed to the left, which everybody was afraid of. Well, beginning to move in that direction, I want to set up the context for Hitler in Munich. I'd like to start by talking about three kinds of things which historians say contributed to the conservative, the reactionary trends. First of all, they talk about the Treaty of Versailles.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. That was the undoing of Eisner. First of all, they said it was "a stab in the back of the German people." And those who were the Nazi kind of people said the Jews did that stab in the back. But in fact it was hunger which did it. Everybody was hungry, and nobody wanted to go into the war. It was so bad that one general, who was a friend of ours--he was rather liberal; he was from Württemberg--told us that many officers who were very courageous in the beginning and went in front of the soldiers, they didn't dare that anymore; they went always after the soldiers because [they were afraid] the soldiers would shoot them in the back. They didn't want to follow the officers anymore. So bad was the situation on the front already. Because they had letters from home that everybody was hungry and it was so terrible a situation.

WESCHLER: Do you think that the people of Bavaria were

responsive to that "stab in the back" kind of rhetoric?

FEUCHTWANGER: Absolutely. Everybody was.

WESCHLER: Already that early?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, already then.

WESCHLER: Even though they had known the hunger.

FEUCHTWANGER: That's why Eisner had already been killed.

But not only Eisner, also Erzberger, and also the independent member of parliament with the name of Haase; he was a very great leader and great man and a liberal and not at all terroristic. All the great leaders, the great men and the peaceful men, they killed.

WESCHLER: What was the feeling of the intelligentsia about the Treaty of Versailles? In retrospect we realize that it was a very strict and perhaps....

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was very strict. We were all upset; also my husband and I were upset about it. But I was less upset even than my husband, because I was so pacifistic that I said I think that everybody who makes war--and there was no doubt that the emperor began the war; of course, it was first the killing of the archduke in Austria, but that was no reason to make war in Germany (and even the socialists followed immediately and rallied around the emperor)--I think the people have to pay. Because that would be the last war. If they are not punished and they don't pay even more than they could afford, then they would never remember

that. So I had a militaristic pacifism, and I was much more for the Treaty of Versailles. I said we have to pay, even myself I have to pay, because when we make war we have to pay.

WESCHLER: Revisionist history of World War I has tended to argue that all the governments were equally responsible for the war.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, that's not true.

WESCHLER: You don't think so.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not at all. They were not prepared. That's [the proof], you can say, because France was not prepared at first. It took a long time, and without the American help of the planes, I don't know if they would have won the war. Decisive were the American planes.

WESCHLER: What did you and Lion and the other intelligentsia feel about Rathenau's position on obeying the demands?

FEUCHTWANGER: Rathenau was very conservative, very conservative. But what he did was that he found that you have to have peace with the Russians, and he made the first détente with the Russians. It was the Treaty of Rapallo, I think it was called. That's why Rathenau was killed.

WESCHLER: I also heard that he was killed because he argued a position of fulfilling the demands of the Treaty of Versailles.

FEUCHTWANGER: No. I don't remember that he did that so much. It was mostly the Russian détente.

WESCHLER: How did you feel about that détente?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, every détente was welcome to me, of course. We lived long in France, so we knew there was not the least warlike mentalities there, not at all. We read all the newspapers of the little towns, in Paris and so, and the socialists had so much to say. Jaurès, who was the leader of the socialists, was killed because he was against the war, even after the war had already begun. So it's really only Germany who was responsible.

WESCHLER: Okay. The second thing that is going to become very, very important in the rise of Hitler is the economic situation, which is about to get right out of hand. Maybe we should talk about it.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course. There is also something else; maybe nobody ever has stressed that the Germans liked to be spoken to. The people in Germany were mostly very religious, mostly in Bavaria. They liked to go to church and look up to somebody who spoke down to them from the pulpit. They always liked to be told what to do. They were very apolitical. They had great interest in learning and technique--they were the greatest book readers and also had big libraries; every little man has his library--but they were not interested in politics. They thought that we pay our taxes and others do the politics. But when somebody came and spoke to them, they liked to listen to it. It was a little bit like a theater. And Hitler made those

big things, those theatrical things. An orchestra would play those old German marches, and with those uniforms and those banners, it was very military. And the Germans always liked the military because it was colorful, with their uniforms and all. It was like--when you see a ballet, you like always the ensemble of the ballet: it's the same with a march of soldiers. The girls just were enthusiastic about a captain in the army and so. And this helped also Hitler very much, this mentality.

WESCHLER: He was a great understander of the Germans.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that was his only merit, that he had psychological instinct. He was an unlearned man. But he had this instinct to speak to the people, to shout; he spit when he spoke--it was not even good looking--but he hypnotized the people.

WESCHLER: Before we get to Hitler directly, still, I do want to talk a little about this economic background.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that was also what I wanted to begin with. He spoke about what happened; of course, only the Jews are the criminals, first with the stabbing in the back. But what did the Jews have to do with the Second World War? Did they also stab in the back there? There were no Jews. But he said so and everybody liked to believe it; it was a scapegoat. Then he began to promise. He said when the Nazis would come, everything would be better.

We would have more work to do, we would have more pay to have, and we wouldn't have any Jews anymore who would stab in the back. And the people believed it. They wanted to believe it. Germany was always victorious in war most of the time. There had been this famous war in 1871 where France was defeated, and so they were proud of that. They always had those Sedan victory celebrations every year, because there was a decisive victory in Sedan in France. They always called it the Sedan Feier. And it never ended; the whole country made a celebration of Sedan. It was more than thirty years after.

WESCHLER: Fifty years.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, fifty years after, and they were still celebrating this victory. There was no country in the whole Europe like that. Adoring the military, mostly the higher officers. The captains on up were mostly from poor families. Aristocrats or young students who hadn't the talent to finish their studies--they went to the army. They were very badly paid in the army, but you wouldn't believe the roles they played socially. Every officer, every lieutenant and every colonel was a god. This was also a part of the Hitler movement.

WESCHLER: Was that as true in Bavaria as it was in Prussia?

FEUCHTWANGER: Everywhere. Everywhere.

WESCHLER: Okay, but let's do talk about the inflation, not

necessarily talking directly about Hitler. What exactly was that like to live through?

FEUCHTWANGER: We were hungry already during the war, but that was nothing compared to the hunger and starvation during the inflation.

WESCHLER: So what happened exactly?

FEUCHTWANGER: I give you an example of my husband. He had this successful play Vasantasena which was accepted in every great city of Germany, mostly in the state theaters. When it was performed, it was always sold out. And those are big theaters, enormous theaters, where mostly the opera was played. But when the money came, his royalties were paid every month to the publisher, and the publisher then paid it every month to my husband. So, for instance, when there was a good, let's say, \$3,000 at the box office, by the time my husband got it, it had the worth of one penny. When it came to him, he couldn't even buy a crust of bread anymore.

WESCHLER: How did you people survive?

FEUCHTWANGER: That's what I ask myself, too. But mostly in Bavaria it was not so bad as in other [parts of the country], because Bavaria was always a peasant country. It was not so much industry; all around Munich, there were farms and agriculture. The women went out every Sunday with their backpacks and went out to the countryside to go

from one place to the other. They were really heroes, those women. In the worst weather, snow or rain, they went around to get a little bit of flour or butter or a little bit of meat.

WESCHLER: Was the inflation as bad for peasants as it was for the city people?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, the peasants made big profits. Not only big profits, they didn't even know what to do with the money because they also knew that the money wouldn't be worth much. You couldn't put it in the bank or it would soon be nothing. So they bought things: they bought the first cars--the first cars were bought by the peasants; they bought grand pianos which they had in their barns, and all kinds of machinery. And the money they used to kindle cigars with. You know it was just--it was disgusting. We had also to go to the countryside to eat something sometimes, and it wasn't allowed to go. You had to have permission. They said when too many people from the cities go to the countryside, there wouldn't be enough for the whole distribution. So I have to go to the police, to the doctor of the police, who had to decide who can go to the countryside. I looked so hungry and so starved, I was so pale and anemic, that the doctor said, "You look like you have tuberculosis. You have to go to the countryside." So he gave me a certificate that we could go.

There was already no gas. In daytime the gas was

always turned off. Only at night there came a little gas. So I had to stay up at night, and then I had to work in daytime. We had not much help because it was so expensive. We had no coals. So at night I was up and baked some bread. Because my husband had a stomach ailment which he got in the military service, we got some stamps for flour. So I had to bake bread myself at night. So, when we went to the countryside, I brought my own bread. In our backpack we had these big breads. We had a chance to get some oil from my brother-in-law [Fritz] who was a director with this factory, with margarine and oil. So sometimes at night, you know, very clandestinely, I had to go far away out of the city, first with the tram and then I had to walk to the factory. And there I met in the darkness--it was eerie, absolutely dark November--my brother-in-law. He had a bottle of oil, and that was my loot that I brought home. With this bottle of oil, I made bread, so the bread would stay fresh longer. It was between a bread and a cake; so it would stay fresh longer and wouldn't be so dry, I always put some oil in the bread.

WESCHLER: To me, when I read these histories, it's inconceivable that these people could have survived at all.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I always said that I couldn't survive it a second time.

WESCHLER: I'm interested in the day-to-day thing. You

said there were rations; there was rationing?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, there was rationing. No meat.

WESCHLER: You didn't need money to get a little bit of food? A little bit of food was given to everybody? How did that work?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, some stamps we had.

WESCHLER: So food was distributed through stamps, not through money?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no, only stamps. But there was a black market, of course, which the peasants made with the special people who found out how to make money. There was big black market. Those people who had connections with other countries, manufacturers and so forth, they could buy from the black market, but we couldn't because we didn't have it. Yes, I have to tell you about those food stamps. Also for meat, you had to have stamps. It was very difficult. Those people who were in Germany before the war, who were old customers of the merchants where they bought what was necessary for life, [had it easier]. We were new customers, so we had no possibilities sometimes; even with the stamps we couldn't get something because they had to keep it for too many people. People were standing in lines always, long lines around the corner, to get something to buy.

There was a little butcher in our neighborhood, and I was buying there, because the big butchers didn't even look

at me. Always they said they had nothing here, because they had it all under the counter, only for their old clients. So this little butcher woman, she was sympathetic to me, and I also did something for her. She liked to go to the theater, and my husband had always free tickets, mostly for the plays he directed in the theater. I gave her tickets; and then every week we put all the stamps together from every day; and at the end of the week we got a little piece of meat, which I let my husband eat on account of his stomach. He couldn't eat the bread which we had. You know the bread was made--there was sawdust in the bread. First they put potatoes in the bread, and that wasn't so bad. Then a kind of beets: the bread had not only no taste, it had bad taste with those beets. But this wasn't the worst, because later they filled it with sawdust. It was very bad for my husband's stomach, so at least once a week he had to have some meat. You had no choice what kind of meat you wanted, even if you had the money. But with those tickets for the theater--she liked so much the theater--I got a little bit of filet. It was not bigger than the interior of my hand, and I got that every week. For instance, I gave her tickets for this play of Keyserling which my husband directed. We were friends of all the directors, and sometimes they gave me tickets; I told them, "If you had not sold out, can I have some tickets so we can get something to eat?" When this

helped, I gave her also the tickets when my husband directed The Lower Depths. I thought now I have something to give her. Every time it was played we got two tickets. Then the next time I came she said, "You know, when you give me those kind of tickets, there is no meat. I don't want to see poor people. We are poor ourselves. I want plays with counts and princesses."

WESCHLER: Was that during the war or during the inflation?

FEUCHTWANGER: During the war and during the inflation, because later on my husband wrote himself plays and I always got some tickets.

WESCHLER: Right, I see. Some other things: it sounds like during inflation, money literally ceased to have any value and things became barter economy. Does that make sense?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. One billion was what before was one mark. Before you had to pay four marks and twenty cents to buy one dollar; it was always like that in Germany. But now you had to have one billion marks to have the same value as one mark in peacetime.

WESCHLER: At the height of the inflation, did people even use money at all or did they just barter? Did they just trade tickets for bread? Did that become primary?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not usually. Just, those who could afford it went to the countryside. I don't know what was in other

cities, but I think it was a little better in Prussia with the living. I don't know why. Even Hilde [Waldo], the secretary of my husband, she tells me always that she had relatives who had a big estate, and she could always go there to get something to live.

WESCHLER: In your case, you did leave the city.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, we were in the Bayrische Wald (Bohemia). We couldn't go to the real countryside, into the Alps or so, because they had nothing. When you went there, they didn't have anything, because they sold everything to the black market. So we went to the Bayrische Wald; that is in Czechoslovakia--the Bavarian forest and Bohemian forest, they are called. It's one big unit of mountains with many forests, even with virgin forests there. We went first to the Bavarian side, but there was nothing to eat. So in those days we could go to the other side--the borders were open--and we went to the Bohemian side. There at least we got some eggs. The only thing which was there--no meat--were eggs.

WESCHLER: Was there inflation there also?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, there was inflation everywhere in Europe, but mostly in Austria (what was Austria before) and Bohemia (later Czechoslovakia). They had at least eggs, because they had no black market, so there were at least eggs to buy. We ate lots of eggs in every way. The Austrians

and Bohemians were always very good cooks (now, the Czechoslovakians). They made omelettes which I had never eaten before, in the way they could cook it. Then they had raspberries; they filled them with fresh raspberries. It was just a treat. We made mountain climbing at the same time, and there were lakes and so forth. We were very happy, and at least we were not hungry going to bed.

But then my husband got a telegram from Bruno Frank; he said the theater wants to play one of his plays. It was called Die Treue Magd, The True Housemaid. And he wants my husband to direct the play.

WESCHLER: This is in Munich again.

FEUCHTWANGER: In Munich, right. A friend of Bruno Frank [Emmy Remolt] was a famous actress from Württemberg, and he wrote the play for her. My husband was Bruno Frank's best friend in those days, so he couldn't leave him; he couldn't tell him, "I'm so happy here I don't want to go back." So we went back to Germany, and it was over again.

WESCHLER: This winter, was it a very bad winter in terms of the amount of food available or was it just the economy?

FEUCHTWANGER: The winters are always bad in Bavaria.

WESCHLER: Was there a lack of food or was it just that the black market was so expensive?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was the black market. But Bavaria was

never a very great agricultural country. Most of the flour came from Rumania. But all that, they couldn't afford.

Austria later on also had a big inflation. The only good thing was that it was all together, all those inflations, so that when Austria had its inflation we could go to Austria and live very cheaply there. And when France had an inflation, we could go to France; that was much later, in the twenties. They had a big inflation. So the only good thing was it always changed from one country to the other.

WESCHLER: What happened with the factory of Lion's family, that margarine factory?

FEUCHTWANGER: They had contracts during the war for the army. They delivered the margarine for the army. So that when the German army invaded Rumania, they got all the oil they needed. They could also get grain from Hungaria, which, still with Austria, was one of our allies. So they always had enough to manufacture.

WESCHLER: And during the inflation, they also had enough?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. But they were not allowed to sell it to private people; they had only to sell it to the army or the government. That's why I had to go clandestinely there and get from "the emperor of the margarine"--that's what I always called my brother-in-law, "the emperor" [laughter]--he gave me a bottle of oil. That was the loot which I brought home.

WESCHLER: Was Lion's father still alive at this time?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. It was my brother-in-law who was in charge. He took over the manufacture.

WESCHLER: It occurs to me, first of all, that we better make a little side trip, because there is a story we want to tell about the death of Lion's father.

FEUCHTWANGER: There is not much to say there, because my husband didn't go very often to his parents. He always thought that they never have forgiven him what he did a long time ago when they had to pay for the scandal of the Phoebus. He always felt unwelcome. Maybe it wasn't true, but he felt like that. And when his mother died we were not in Munich and we heard it too late. I think it was when his mother died. But when his father died [in January 1916] we were in Munich, and I remember that my husband went to see him shortly before his death. And he said, "I heard that Reinhardt has accepted your play, Vasantasena. I read it, and I cannot understand how he can perform such a boring play." That was one of the last words he said to my husband. [laughter] When his mother died, we were skiing in the Austrian Alps when we got [the news].

WESCHLER: What year was that now?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember; it was in the beginning of the twenties [January 1926]. So we got the notice, the telegram, too late. We were at a refuge, you would call it,

a hut in the mountains, and there was no telegraph. So when we came back from the mountains, we found the telegram. The funeral was already over. [pause in tape]

After my father-in-law died, my mother-in-law inherited the whole fortune and also the factory, but her third son took over as the director. He was married with a very rich girl who was the daughter of a banker from Darmstadt or someplace like that near the Rhine. None of the sons got anything from the inheritance. If they wanted they could have gotten something, but they had been asked, all the children were asked, to leave the money in the factory so it would work there, and later on they would get more. That's what they did, also my husband, although we would have needed it very much because then we could have bought something on the black market.

Then, after my mother-in-law died, I said to my husband, "You know, we were always not on good terms with the family. I think we don't want to have anything from the inheritance. We just don't want to have anything to do with the whole thing." My husband said, "Yes, I think you are right." So we lived better like that; we didn't have much money but at least there is no quarreling. Because they wanted to begin again with the [residue] from this Phoebus affair; they always said it has to be deducted from his inheritance. So he said, "I just don't want to hear anything about it

anymore." But one day his youngest brother, the hero [Bertold], he came to us and said, "You know, we have finally divided the whole thing, and we should find out what everybody will get." So my husband said, "I don't want to have anything to do with it. I'm on good terms with my sisters and brothers now, and there is a peace which is better like that." He said, "How can you be so stupid? You'll get a big piece of money. Why do you refuse to do that?" He spoke so long so my husband said, "It's all right. I will do that." So after a very short time, my husband found out that my mother-in-law had speculated with this banker, who was the father-in-law of the other son who took over the factory, and she had lost the whole fortune. The stocks were in very bad shape, and there was nothing left anymore. Not only that, all the children were now responsible for all the debts. So when she speculated for more than she had owned, they had to pay for it. Finally we found out it was just even, but they had to pay--all the children and also my husband had to pay for the funeral. This was a relative, you know; that was the father of my husband's sister-in-law. And he insisted that everybody pays everything. It was when they all were sitting together. They found out that there was some little--several thousand marks were left. And one sister was not married--she was always at home helping her mother, and

she had no means to live--so everybody left what they would have inherited from this little sum to her. That was all that was left.

WESCHLER: Which sister was this?

FEUCHTWANGER: Bella was her name. She later on was with her brother Martin in Halle (that is in the middle of Germany). He had a great newspaper there [the Saale Zeitung] and also a kind of publishing house for articles which he distributed to other newspapers [in the Hendel Trust], and she helped him there. During the Nazi time, he went to Prague with what he could save, what was not very much. She went with him and helped him there, too. Then he just barely escaped to Israel when the Nazis took over Czechoslovakia, but she couldn't escape anymore. She said she stays there because she thought she was not so much in danger, as a woman, as was her brother. She stayed too long, and she was sent to Theresienstadt, the big concentration camp, and there she died of typhoid fever.

WESCHLER: Well, I suppose we should go back to the origins of that debacle in the Munich of the 1920s. One other thing I think I should ask, since you brought it up; we haven't mentioned Bruno Frank at all. Maybe you could talk a bit about him.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, Bruno Frank was a great friend of my husband. My husband always was very shy; he never would be

outgoing to offer his friendship. But he met Frank....

When Frank came, he was in the army, a volunteer who sometimes came on furlough to the Torggelstube.

WESCHLER: This was during the war?

FEUCHTWANGER: During the war. Just when our friendship began. He came to the Torggelstube. And when he came there, the whole room lit up; he looked so wonderful, in a Ulanen uniform. It was grey with yellow and a yellow cap. He was very good looking, very manly, broad-shouldered and tall--explosive, almost, I could say, very vivacious. Everybody was changed when he came, really. It was the great world for me also. And he immediately was stricken by a great friendship with my husband. He was so much in awe of him, also, of his intelligence. He was the only person with whom my husband was on a first-name relationship (but he offered it to my husband). It was a very wonderful relationship. Frank was very cultured and very knowledgeable, and also he had so much understanding for everything in literature. One day....

My husband wrote this novel Jud Süß, I told you about it. But no publisher wanted to have it, because it had a title which was.... And also it was a big manuscript. It came back usually from the publishers without even having been opened. Then in Berlin, there was founded a big publishing house which was kind of like the Literary

Guild or something, you could call it. But only one man had it, a very rich industrialist who wanted to do something for culture. He founded that, and it was called the Volksverband der Bücherfreunde; that means "the Union of Lovers of Books." Bibliophiles, in a way. And he wanted to have novels mostly. He came to Munich, to the critic and the correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt, who was a friend of ours; [Leonhardt] Adelt was his name. Adelt had been in America for a short time (he went with the Hindenburg, this [zeppelin] which later was burned). He knew English very well, which was very rare. In those days, everybody learned a second language, only it was French as their second language. There was a great success--this is a long story but I have to repeat that--he heard about the great success of Main Street by Sinclair Lewis. He brought this book to Germany and translated it. And when this man, this great industrialist--Aschenbach was his name--wanted to found this publishing house, he came to see Adelt, who was a friend of his, or he knew him. So the first book of this publishing house was an American book, Main Street by Sinclair Lewis, which Adelt translated. It was a great success. And this man came again to Munich and asked his lecturer, who was a Mr. Feder, if he could find some unpublished novels. But nobody had an unpublished novel at that time. Adelt knew that Frank was just writing

so enthusiastic about this book that he wrote for the Frankfurter Zeitung and the Berliner Tageblatt just an enthusiastic review about it. It was first published in very great editions by this book society, and later it was published by an ordinary publisher [Kiepenheuer]. But Jud Süss still had no publisher.

TAPE NUMBER: X, SIDE ONE

JULY 15, 1975 and JULY 17, 1975

WESCHLER: We seem to have just hit another vein of stories about the literary community, and this one has to do with Bruno Frank and Bertolt Brecht. You say that they did not get along very well.

FEUCHTWANGER: They didn't know each other--Brecht only by way of our house--but I wouldn't say they didn't get along. There was no relationship at all. But Frank read some of his work--I don't know what it was, a poem or a play--and he said, "I just can't make anything out of it. It is for me Greek. I can't find the merit of it." But no discussion farther.

And the same was with Thomas Mann. Thomas Mann also had read something of Brecht and just couldn't make any sense of it. Then one day somebody gave him the play Mother Courage, and Thomas Mann, who knew that Brecht didn't like him.... For instance, Brecht wrote once in Berlin, in a magazine, "Klaus Mann is the son of Thomas Mann. By the way, who is Thomas Mann?" So that was his way to treat Thomas Mann. I think he didn't read much of him, but he just didn't like him because he was successful. That was also a little bit this clan, which I told you, something which is successful cannot be good. Mann, of course, heard

about that; there is nothing which is gossip which wouldn't come back to the person. So when he read that--I think it was Erika who understood very much and was very clever; she gave him the play Mother Courage--then Thomas Mann said, "The monster has talent." [laughter] You can read that everywhere in all those biographies about Brecht and Thomas Mann.

So it was the same with Bruno Frank. And one day--Brecht had his young friends, and they all were a little bit suspicious about his friendship with the much older Feuchtwanger. They thought Brecht should be a man by himself, not always go to Feuchtwanger to get advice or work with him. Brecht was a little bit impressed by this; at least this kind of speaking was not agreeable to him. So he said, "Oh, I am only a friend of Feuchtwanger because he helps me." Of course, this was immediately borne through the whole literary world of Munich, and Bruno Frank came to Lion and told him, "You know that Brecht says that in his way of friendship for you, he only uses your influence." Frank said, "I cannot stomach this kind of thing. It's not your way to be a friend of this kind of person. You have to make a choice: either me or Brecht." So my husband at first shrugged his shoulders and didn't speak much about it. He didn't want any quarrels with his friends; he only had discussions in literary things, but not personal quarrels.

So it ended without any real ending of the whole conversation. Later on, my husband thought, "Maybe I speak with Brecht about it." He told Brecht what Frank said, and then he asked, "Is it true?" and Brecht said yes. And that was the end of it. Nobody spoke anything anymore about the whole thing. But my husband wrote the character [Kaspar] Pröckl in Success [Erfolg], and it has been influenced a little bit by that, I think.

WESCHLER: I see.

FEUCHTWANGER: I have to tell you also that when this book was in manuscript, my husband gave it to Brecht to read. We went to a North Italian lake for a vacation, and all of a sudden Brecht came with his wife, Helene Weigel, his second wife. We didn't know--we hadn't invited him--but all of a sudden he was there. And we made long walks together. Finally in the evening my husband told me, "You know, Brecht is very upset about this portrait. I told him that it is not a portrait. It's not a roman à clef; it's just an impression which I had from him, but only one side. It's not the whole Brecht." But still Brecht wanted him to change it. Lion said, "But it's already printed. I cannot change what is already printed." And Helly, his wife, went walking with me and she said, "But what about this novel? It's nonsense, the whole thing. You have to use your influence that Feuchtwanger has to change this Pröckl. And

this woman--she is just stupid." She was very much against the novel. But then my husband said, "I cannot do anything anymore. Even if I wanted to, it's already printed." Then Brecht came to me and said, "You know, your husband, he is always walking with us and he is a very good walker. I'm not very athletic, and I think he makes me tired so my arguments will weaken."

WESCHLER: But the book got published.

FEUCHTWANGER: The book got published, and their friendship was the same, and nothing had changed.

WESCHLER: Yes, it survived all that. But not so much with Frank. With him, it was the same friendship always, but there was something lacking. It was not anymore this cordiality of the beginning. And then Frank also married, and his wife [Liesel] was very ambitious. She wanted him to be very successful; so there was not anymore the same friendship. They were still good friends and also here, but it was not the same anymore.

WESCHLER: You mentioned that during the inflation Frank had called him back.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that was when we were in Czechoslovakia (Bohemia, it was then).

WESCHLER: Right. What kind of power did Frank have?

FEUCHTWANGER: He had written a play, and he wanted my husband to direct it.

WESCHLER: Was he at that time very popular already in Munich?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was popular, but more or less for his poems. He was a poet. From the war he always sent very patriotic poems, very beautifully worded poems for the Simplicissimus. [Olaf] Gulbransson, who was the great illustrator of this great magazine, he illustrated always Frank's poems with very lovely landscapes. But it was very patriotic and for the war.

WESCHLER: What were Bruno Frank's political feelings after the war?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was very much for the revolution, of course. The war was lost, and he saw for himself. He came back and had emphysema from the war. He was in Spain when the war broke out, and he came back immediately as a volunteer. He had a friend who was a prince of Württemberg. Frank was born in Stuttgart, which was the capital of Württemberg, and the Herzog von Urach was a friend of his. So he went to this Duke of Urach and told him, "I don't want to go into the infantry and be trained and coached; I want to go to the front right away. I couldn't stand to be this kind of soldier." The duke had a great influence and said, "Yes, you can be a cavalry man who brings telegrams--a messenger--and there you don't need any training." And that's what he did. But in the cold winter he had to ride against the wind

in Belgium, and this cold wind gave him emphysema and asthma. So he was released then from the service and lived in Munich and wrote. He began to write novels. His greatest was much later, the book A Man Called Cervantes [German title: Cervantes]. It was a best seller here.

WESCHLER: I want to get back to Munich again around the time of the inflation and so forth. The other event which is taking place--we have been talking about things that were leading to the Nazis, of course--was the French invasion of the Ruhr valley.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, but if you want to know more about the beginning of the whole thing, you have to know about the printing of Jud Süß, because this novel had a great influence on the Nazis.

WESCHLER: Okay. You want to do that first?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. But that is also another story, like Kipling always says. My husband was called by a great publisher who was a very rich man, an Austrian who had the greatest bank in Austria [the Alpine Montan Bank] and also big factories, and his hobby was publishing. He had a palace in Munich, and there he had a publishing house and had all the money you wanted for this publishing house. The director of this publishing house was a count, because the publisher wouldn't do that without a count. That was the way he wanted to live. My husband had been asked, because he had



a good name as a critic, to look for plays in foreign languages which could be played in Germany. Translated-- my husband could also translate if he wanted, but most of all he was to be a kind of scout in foreign languages. Since he read Italian and French and English, so he began to read. And he had a very good contract for that. In a way it was our salvation, since we could now buy some better food. After a year or so (it was not quite a year), he had read so many plays in other languages--and I did also because I too read other languages--there was just no play which could be translated for the German stage. So he went to this man and said, "I'm so sorry, Mr. Sobotka. I didn't find a play, and it's somewhat painful for me, or embarrassing, that I take always the money every month and I couldn't do anything." This man said, "Yes, it's true; that is not very practical." (I think the contract was for three years.) He said, "Didn't you write a novel?" My husband said, "Yes, I wrote a novel." He said, "I know that it hasn't been printed yet, and I haven't read it-- my director has looked at it, but he said it was nothing for my publishing house--but still if you want to, we can dissolve our three-year contract, and instead as compensation we will print your book." Which he hadn't read. My husband was, of course, very happy that this book would finally be printed. (Years later, [S. Fischer], the owner of the

greatest publishing house, S. Fischer Verlag, came to see my husband. We lived already in Berlin. My husband had an appendectomy, so he visited him in the hospital. And he said, "You had such a big success with your Jud Süß. Why didn't you give it to us?" And my husband said, "I sent it to you but it came unopened back.") So that was the story of Jud Süß.

It was the use always to pay an advance, which was very fortunate. Always in the last moment there came something [to help us survive]. One day, I was fixing the rolling stove we had which you could roll from one room to the other. It was a cold night, and I had just cleaned it out--we had no maid, nobody of course to help--and I was all black from the soot when the telephone rang. [It was] very early in the morning at seven o'clock. I went to the telephone with my black hand--the telephone, everything was black--and it was Mr. Sobotka, the owner of the publishing house, this great industrialist. He said, "You know, your husband cost me a whole night's sleep. I read the manuscript. I couldn't lay it down. I had to read it from beginning to the end, and I just finished it. It's a great book, and I'm so happy that I can publish it."

WESCHLER: Was he himself Jewish?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. He was an Austrian Jew, married to a Gentile. I don't know if he was converted; he was absolutely

not interested in Jewish things usually. He just found the novel so interesting. His director--the Count Damen was his name--he was very unhappy about the whole thing. And this publishing house, it was the first novel they printed, because until then they only published plays.

WESCHLER: What was the name of the publishing house?

FEUCHTWANGER: Drei Masken Verlag. You know, from the three masks of the theater--drama, comedy, and I don't know the third.

WESCHLER: What I think I would like to do--it's getting a little bit late today. I think we should continue on Thursday with Jud Süss.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, and Jud Süss was, of course, a novel which the Nazis hated most on account of its world success. But they then used the novel, and they turned it all around as an anti-Semitic film.

WESCHLER: Okay. We'll talk in detail about that in the next session. We'll be able to do it justice.

JULY 17, 1975

WESCHLER: We are going to start today with some more Munich stories and then proceed to other things. First of all, you have two more stories about Wedekind. These are about Wedekind and his children.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, one day Erich Mühsam asked Wedekind

why he gave his daughters such funny names. One daughter [was Anna Pamela, and the other] had the name Fanny and Kadija. So Wedekind said, "You know, I thought if she marries a nice man and would be a good housewife, then Fanny would be appropriate; but if, against all expectations, she becomes a whore, then Kadija would be of great value." Then, later on, when he was already dead, the two daughters had a fight once with the mother and Kadija--who was here visiting with me; she told me the story--answered her mother, "What do you want? You were only his wife, but we are his flesh and blood!" [laughter] She looks so much like her father. She is also very gifted as a writer.

WESCHLER: You had some other stories about Brecht and Caspar Neher on vacation.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that was in the beginning of our acquaintance. He sent us a picture postcard from the Bavarian Alps.

WESCHLER: Who was he with on vacation?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was with Caspar Neher, the painter who made all the sets; he also made beautiful illustrations for Lion's book Pep. And the third one was Mullereisert; he was a young doctor. Brecht wrote, "We are wandering so much around and it is so hot that at night, when we go to bed, I can just stand my trousers beside my bed, they are so stiff from the sweat." Also he wrote that it is very

cheap because he is singing to the guitar, so he is always welcome with the peasants. They got shelter and food. Caspar Neher made drawings of the people, and Mullereisert treats them when they have ailments. So that was very satisfactory.

WESCHLER: The early summers of Bertolt Brecht.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Today, we're finally going to get to the Hitler Putsch. I wanted to set up the background, because you, living in Munich, were perhaps among the first Germans to have an awareness of Hitler. (Off tape we've already told some stories of those early awarenesses.) You might start with how you first began to know of him.

FEUCHTWANGER: The first I knew of him was from the placards against him from his own comrades when he founded the party. They immediately had a fallout, and you could see on the street corners big placards about "The traitor Hitler who betrays the Nazi party," and that he doesn't do what they have concluded, mostly the abolishment of the money.

There was one man [Gottfried Feder] who was a fanatic Nazi because he had found out that money should be abolished. That was the first thing I heard about Hitler, when I saw this placard against him from his own comrades.

WESCHLER: This was before the Hitler Putsch.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, that was before he was Hitler, you could say. Before anybody else knew about him.

WESCHLER: What was your general sense of him at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Everybody laughed about this. There was a newspaper already much before which was kind of a preparation for the Nazi movement, the Volkischer Beobachter. It was very anti-Semitic from the beginning, a very down-to-earth, almost a peasant kind of mentality. After the close of their shops you could see all the Jewish merchants going around with their Volkischer Beobachter under their arm, waiting for the tram or streetcar and reading there what has been told about them. But nobody took it seriously. They laughed about it. They thought it was a kind of insanity. But they wanted to read it, of course. They were the best customers for this newspaper, these Jewish merchants. [laughter] So it began already like that. It was a preparation for the Nazis.

WESCHLER: But then Hitler was at the coffee house which was next door to yours.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was a funny thing. He liked to be around artists, although he pretended to hate them. So when the whole artistic population of Munich moved into apartments or rooms in Schwabing and also frequented the inns there, there were two little wine pubs next door to the avant-garde theater. We were usually in the Pfälzische Weinstube, this Palantine Weinstube; and the other was the Greek wine restaurant. They were much alike, but they had

different kind of clientele. And mostly in the Greek restaurant there was always Hitler sitting there. But he wasn't noticed very much; just somebody said that Hitler sits there. That was all.

WESCHLER: Did he already have his characteristic mustache?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that's why everybody knew him immediately. That was the only thing. But nobody noticed him very much.

WESCHLER: Was that an unusual mustache?

FEUCHTWANGER: Absolutely unusual. Only Charlie Chaplin had it before. But I don't think that Hitler knew about Chaplin; it was just his way. You know, he was from Austria, and I think he wanted to be a Prussian. He thought that it looks more Prussian, more energetic.

Then there was also a coffee house in the Hofgarten, which was in the middle of Munich, formerly a part of the castle which was called the Residenz. This was a garden which was a rather big park in a square, and in the middle was a little temple like from a rococo or baroque time, and around it was a wall with arcs. In bad weather you could promenade inside, with murals in it. On one side were little coffee shops. And in summer they had their tables outside, way in the garden. When the first spring came and the first sun came out, everybody met there. It was this light green which was so typical for vegetation in Munich

with a light blue sky. It was an atmosphere like Florence in the air. And there we were all sitting. Everybody who could afford had a new dress for the spring, and we were sitting there--mostly at first the people from the Torggelsstube, and later also the people who lived then in Schwabing. We had two tables where everybody knew each other. Also people from the newspapers and correspondents of the Berliner Tageblatt.

At the next table was sitting Pfitzner, Hans Pfitzner, the composer and conductor, whom I admired very much. I knew him better as a conductor. When you looked at him, he looked rather sinister, small--not very small, but he looked small because he was so thin and went a little hunched. He had a fanatic face, always very serious; I think I never saw him laugh, or I even don't know if he could laugh. But when I saw him conducting, I was enormously impressed: his Fanatismus, which you could see in his face, came out in the best way. I was not a great critic of music, but I just felt it immediately. It was hypnotic almost. (At the same time, [Felix] Weingartner, the famous Weingartner, also conducted in Munich.) And at this table was not only Pfitzner but also a Mr. Kossmann, who had before a periodical which was called the Suddeutsche Monatshefte; that means the Monthly Periodical of Southern Germany. It was very important but didn't get much

money, so they had to close it down. And the third person was Hitler, because Kossmann was a great admirer of Hitler. Also Pfitzner was a German nationalist, like Wagner in his way. Kossmann was not a National Socialist, but he was very nationalistic and patriotic. He hated everybody who wouldn't run to war as a volunteer--but he didn't. This was during the war, what I tell now. And the third one was Hitler. Everybody knew who he was, that he was a rabble rouser, something like that. Also by this newspaper, which I told, the Volkischer Beobachter which meant the Racial Observer, the "volkish" observer. And once my husband was struggling with his coat--it became cold; it was the first days of spring--and this man Hitler jumped up and helped him into his coat. My husband had blue eyes and blond hair, so he didn't recognize him as a Jew.

WESCHLER: How was he like at that point, to be sitting at a table next to him?

FEUCHTWANGER: He didn't look like anything, except for this comical little mustache. Nobody would have noticed him, only that was a little comical. But even with that, he could have been a clerk in a grocery.

WESCHLER: Was he loud at the table?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh no. No, no. Not at all. Very quiet. Rather awkward, I could say. And the only intellectual at the table who you could see speaking was Kossmann. And this

man Kossmann was Jewish. He was so reactionary and so supernational that he admired Hitler and Pfitzner. Afterwards, he supported Hitler in every way, but Hitler notwithstanding had him killed in a concentration camp. Pfitzner abandoned this kind of mentality and was very upset about the Nazis when they came to power. He didn't even notice them anymore. He retired entirely from this whole movement. That's what I heard. We were not there anymore.

WESCHLER: How did the Nazis treat him?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was not Jewish; they didn't do anything to him. Also he did not attack them; he was just retiring. He was so upset that he even--I don't think that he composed very much afterwards. I would not know when he died; maybe he died only at the beginning of the Hitler movement; I don't remember. I have to look it up. [d. Salzburg, 1949]

WESCHLER: I suppose we should begin to talk about the way in which Hitler stopped being such a laughable character. Because things begin to get dangerous.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: Now, in the history books the event which in addition to the Versailles Treaty and the inflation is credited with giving Hitler something to talk about, was the invasion of the Ruhr by the French.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. That's true.

WESCHLER: How did the people of Munich that you were with and in general--how did they react to that?

FEUCHTWANGER: But everybody was upset about the invasion of the Ruhr. They were all patriotic. In a way, you cannot blame them. They were Germans. Of course, there were differentiations. Some people, for instance like Mühsam--and also others, I wouldn't say only Mühsam--found that it was all right: when people have begun a war, and such a bloody war, without any reason, then they should also pay for it. I was one of them. I always said that I think it is necessary that those who lost the war and began the war, they should pay for it. Even though we suffered more than many other people. Our money was gone, and the money which my husband earned was not of value anymore when he got it because it went through the different [intermediaries]. First the theater paid it to the publisher--that was a month after the performance always--and then the publisher a month afterwards paid my husband. That was in the contract in those days. When my husband got, let's say, about \$2,000 from one performance, when he finally got it, he could not even buy a piece of bread for that. So we really suffered. But my idea was only peace. I was a militant pacifist, and I thought we are part of Germany and we have to pay, too, even if we were against the war.

Because that may be the only means to abolish war.

WESCHLER: Well, in what ways did Hitler first begin to seem a political force in the city? I'm talking about the days before the Putsch.

FEUCHTWANGER: He held big speeches in the beer cellars. They were enormous buildings, mostly--some were in the hands of the Catholic monks. They brewed the beer, many Catholic monks. The Augustine order and so. And some were in the hands of Jews, some of those beer cellars. And Hitler used the one of a Jewish proprietor. The man who owned that didn't know anything about the whole thing. It was the Lion Brew Cellar [Bürgerbrau Keller], and here he had an enormous audience. There is one thing which my husband always said was the only clever thing which Hitler ever wrote in his Mein Kampf ("My Struggle"). He wrote a terrible German, you know; you almost could not understand it. When you want to understand him you have to read the English translation. [laughter] But he had also some help. But I wouldn't blame him for that: he had not much money and was not a good student. But in this book, he said he tried to go from one factory to the other to speak with the workmen during their lunch break. Then he saw that people were not interested; they didn't even listen to him. They were interested in--they were hungry and they knew they had to go back to work. But then he tried it in

the evening, first in smaller buildings. Thus he found out how much easier it was to get in contact, to have an impact. He found out that the reason was that the workmen were tired, and their criticism would be dulled. He could hypnotize them, in a way. He could speak to them, and his voice and the way he spoke to them was effectful. Also, what is more my opinion, the people in Germany like to be spoken to. Sometimes he gave them hell, but the more he gave them hell, the more they liked it. This was a little bit what Hitler--he was Catholic, and he knew this tradition from the Church. He shouted enormously about their own faults they committed, and that they allowed the rich people or the Jews to do all those things, and that the war was lost not because of the military or because the soldiers were not very courageous, but rather because there was a stab in the back from those in the hinterland. And all those things--that went in like honey to those people who were tired. Here was one who cared for them, who tells them what it is, and who promises to make everything better. They had no critic at all. Even from the beginning, the Germans are not very critical in any political way; maybe they have changed now, but in those days they didn't care anything about politics. They liked to work and they liked music and they liked to read. They were good readers;

they bought books--even workmen bought books. They read also the newspaper. But they wanted to be left in peace with their beer stein, reading and sitting and smoking maybe. That was all they wanted.

WESCHLER: Did you attend any of Hitler's rallies?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was impossible. My husband was known; everybody would have recognized him and beaten him immediately. They didn't care what happened afterwards. Also, [the government was] very mild against all the crimes of the Nazis. But no Jews would dare to go inside.

WESCHLER: Did you talk to anyone who did attend them?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, we spoke with the correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt. He told us about how great the reception was and how big the impact was. And he himself was impressed. It was so funny: we were very good friends.

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Leonhardt Adelt. He was the one who told us later that we should take his bicycles and flee because the station was already....

WESCHLER: We'll get to that in a second.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. The Adelts were very hospitable and wonderful; when they got something somewhere to eat, they always invited us. They had family in America, I think, and got things sent, and always they shared with us. But when he spoke about how he was at one of these meetings in

the beer cellar and what an impact Hitler had, how he thought that he is dangerous but most of all how he found him to be an effectual speaker, I thought that anything what was spoken about Hitler which could be taken in any way as a praise, this man who did that could only be an anti-Semite. I jumped up and said, "You are an anti-Semite like everybody else!" And I ran away in the middle of the meal.

WESCHLER: And meals were hard to come by in those days.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, that's true. My husband was very embarrassed, but he followed me, of course; he didn't let me go alone. He said that he didn't think that Adelt meant it so personally in this way; he thought that I had misunderstood him. So the next day his wife called me and said, "My husband couldn't sleep the whole night, that you could think he could be an anti-Semite. You know how much he likes you and how much I like you. But still he apologizes when he saw that you could be offended by what he said." So we were reconciled. I think I was wrong. It was just because--maybe I was too young. But I wasn't so young anymore....

WESCHLER: I don't think that anybody can be criticized for being very sensitive about that issue, even in retrospect.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. But my husband was more objective, and also he knew that Adelt could not be an anti-Semite

even though he was not Jewish.

WESCHLER: How did the Bavarian press in general treat Hitler?

FEUCHTWANGER: They were afraid, I think. Also the Bavarian press was very reactionary anyway; after the Räteregierung, they became to be very reactionary. They were glad that somebody was there. They were mostly Catholics; the most important newspaper, the Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten, was very Catholic.

WESCHLER: I assume there were groups that were already critical of Hitler very early on. What would you say the centers of criticism were, if not the press?

FEUCHTWANGER: There was no center of criticism. You had friends, and they spoke about him. But there was no center and no opposition. We didn't know many socialists, because the socialists were not very obvious, you know. Somebody could be a socialist without his friends knowing that he was. So everybody was--but they were not very upset. They just didn't take him seriously.

WESCHLER: Do you think that he began to be taken more seriously around the time of the Putsch, or do you think that even at the time of the Putsch...?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. You know, when you have read my husband's book, Success--he ridiculed the whole thing, although my husband maybe exaggerated because he wanted to make him more

ridiculous. He thought--there is a proverb which says, "Ridiculousness kills." He believed in that. He thought that maybe like Aristophanes, the Greek playwright, who was also antiwar and made fun of the military--maybe in a way he was inspired by Aristophanes and thought he makes him more ridiculed.

But the whole Putsch was ridiculous because it was made up with so much fanfare and then.... He became all of a sudden also anti-Catholic, because he said that they didn't follow him enough. Also his religion was heathen; he was more for the Germanic gods. So, on one side at the Feldherrnhalle, which was like the Hall of the Lanzi in Florence (it's called the Hall of the Field Marshal), many people met on Sundays for the concert. It was also a place where all the students had their meetings on Sundays with their colored hats, their fraternities which wore different colors.

[On the morning of the Putsch], Hitler met and Hitler marched together with Ludendorff, who was the field marshal during the war, and with all his followers. I don't think that [Joseph] Goebbels was there already. But all of a sudden one of the officers, a colonel of the guard, shouted, "Stop." They didn't stop but went on to go to the Residenz, to the castle. Three times they were told to stop, and they didn't stop. So the soldiers had to shoot. When the shooting

began--I think they shot more in the air than at the people-- then Hitler and Ludendorff threw themselves down on the ground. Of course, it was the only sensible thing to do when somebody shoots at you. But it was so ridiculous because the build-up was so enormously pompous, and all of a sudden this man Ludendorff, who thought himself like a god, they threw themselves down instead of standing there like heroes. So that made the whole thing so ridiculous. The whole thing was off. Absolutely off.

WESCHLER: How did you hear about this? Were you an eye-witness?

FEUCHTWANGER: We heard everything from Adelt. Oh, no, we couldn't be there. It was shooting, and Jews were not allowed.

WESCHLER: So how did you hear it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Adelt told us. He was of course from the press, and these people had a special place somewhere in a house where they could see from above. Adelt called us and told us the whole story. "It's off," he said. "The whole thing is off." Then they were arrested. And I think somebody died.

WESCHLER: Just before that, you had told me the story about being called in the middle of the night.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I have to find out when that was. I think it was the night before the Putsch. Adelt called us

in the middle of the night--it was two or three o'clock--and told my husband, "You know, Hitler makes a Putsch, and he is already arresting people, mostly merchants, important merchants, and mostly Jewish people. They are going from one street to the other. They are very near to where you live, and you cannot go to the station anymore because the station is in the hands of the Nazis. You come to me"--he lived farther out in Schwabing--"and take the bicycles and leave the town." But my husband said, "Oh, I'm much too tired," and turned around and slept. Adelt couldn't understand; he just couldn't understand that somebody could behave like that. But the next morning he said, "You were right. It's already over."

WESCHLER: Did Lion even tell you what the phone call was about that night?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, we had a big double bed together, so I knew what happened. I asked, "What is it?" and he said, "Oh, Adelt said we should take the bicycles, but I don't even think about it."

WESCHLER: Were you worried about it though?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I always was of the same opinion what he was. I thought he knew better than I.

Then Hitler was arrested and Ludendorff was arrested. I don't know where they brought Hitler, probably into a jail or something. But Ludendorff, because he was a field

marshal, he was conducted into the Residenz, which was nearby, across the street.

WESCHLER: That's where he had been marching anyway.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, and there was a man who was already arrested the night before by the Nazis. He was a big perfume merchant, very elegant. He was famous in the whole of Europe. He was picked up also because he was Jewish. His name was Talmessinger. It was a name we didn't know: he wasn't Bavarian--he didn't belong to us because he was no Bavarian--he was just rich. But he was picked up and put in the big residential hall where the crowning usually took place. And there he was sitting, this little Jew, sitting on a chair, when Ludendorff came in. Ludendorff said, "What are you doing here? It is I who am arrested here. Out with you." So Talmessinger was very glad to go. [laughter]

WESCHLER: We should note, by the way, that this is a correction of an earlier version we told of this story.*

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it's true. I had confounded it with another man.

WESCHLER: But this is the time this actually happened. In addition to being farcical, however, the Nazis were....

FEUCHTWANGER: They were not farcical for everybody. Only for my husband. I must say that everybody else was more afraid of Hitler than my husband was. Because my husband always said that when somebody is so unintelligent, he cannot

* See Tape VIII, Side One.

be dangerous. But he was mistaken. There is something which is difficult to explain, his impact on the people. I tried to explain it, but I don't know if it was the right way.

WESCHLER: It's something that will take an awful lot of witnesses to talk about it. Nothing really accounts for it completely.

TAPE NUMBER: X, SIDE TWO

JULY 17, 1975

WESCHLER: We are in the middle of the Beer Hall Putsch in Munich in 1923. We were just talking about how other people besides Lion experienced the coming of the Nazis, and a good example is Bruno Walter.

FEUCHTWANGER: Bruno Walter was himself very nationalist. He was in no way involved in any revolution; even, I think, he was a monarchist.

WESCHLER: He was himself Jewish and had converted?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was Jewish, but he was converted long ago. I think already his parents had converted. He was from Austria, from Vienna. No, in Vienna he was the conductor, but I think he was born in Berlin.

WESCHLER: And when had he come to Munich?

FEUCHTWANGER: He came to Munich after the death of Felix Mottl, who was a very great conductor. He was accepted in Munich only because he was converted to Catholicism.

WESCHLER: Parenthetically, you had told a story about Mahler....

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that was long before. Mahler was called to be a conductor. That was before Mottl; they wanted Mahler. He was very famous. He came back from America or so, and they wanted him. They didn't know probably that

he was Jewish. He was Jewish, but also he was converted. But when somebody found out in Munich that he was Jewish, they immediately canceled the contract. Then Felix Mottl came and when he died, the times had a little bit changed; they didn't find anybody who was good enough for them, so they called Bruno Walter, who was a student of Gustav Mahler. Walter was really a demigod in Munich as a conductor. He was so venerated and also he was so gifted, and his Mozart was outstanding when he conducted the Mozart operas. He was the general director. Everything was "general" in Germany, so he was the director-general of the opera. [laughter]

WESCHLER: What circles did he circulate in? Was he part of the Schwabing group?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was a friend of Thomas Mann. Both were nationalistic in those days. His wife was an English lady who was also Gentile, and he had two daughters. One of them committed suicide later. She was very gifted, that one who committed suicide. I think it was about a man, I think a love story.

As I say, the theater was always sold out when he conducted. But the Nazis hated him because they said he was Jewish. They didn't consider it a religion; for them it was a race. When he conducted, they came in with rotten eggs and tomatoes and threw them at him during the performance.

So he recognized that he couldn't stay there any longer. But it was a terrible--what shall I say?--tragedy for him, because he loved Munich, he loved the theater. He had built up the orchestra. But he was immediately called to Berlin. So he fell upstairs.

WESCHLER: At that time in Berlin there was no Nazi problem yet.

FEUCHTWANGER: Not at all. It was Goebbels who made that in Berlin later.

WESCHLER: Ironically, it's a situation where these great people in the provinces are going to be fleeing the provinces and going to Berlin, often because of the Nazis.

FEUCHTWANGER: Heinrich Mann left very early; Brecht left very early in those times. They both wrote my husband--mostly Brecht always wrote--"You cannot stay in Munich. This has become a small country town. Only in Berlin can you live. Everything is alive here." And finally we gave in.

WESCHLER: Can you give us some particular stories about the leavings? Why did Brecht leave in particular? Just the general mood, or were there particular incidents with him?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was partly the general mood, but it was also because the theater was in those days very exciting in Berlin. First it was Munich which was so exciting, and then Berlin took over. There was Reinhardt and Jessner and [Viktor] Barnowsky, those three people.

But I have to tell you something else about what happened in those times. Only, I don't remember the chronicle following. It must have been after the Putsch. There was a friend of Hitler, Colonel [Ernst] Röhm, and he was a kind of barbaric Bavarian, a rough type. He founded--I don't know if he founded it--but anyway it was a kind of commandos. In the morning many times there were bodies, dead bodies floating in the Isar. That was all Röhm's people who did that. People who were not popular--he was very like those medieval Landsknecht, those knights who ran around and were so barbaric. After the Hitler Putsch--this killing of the people was before the Hitler Putsch--he escaped to South America, and there he introduced National Socialism, which is still prevailing there in many ways. It's not very much anti-Semitic, but many of the dictators in South America, like [General Alfredo] Stroessner in Paraguay or so, they are all disciples of Röhm.

WESCHLER: And this was in the twenties that he left?

FEUCHTWANGER: This was in the twenties. He left when he was in danger of being arrested. He fled to South America. Later he came back. And when Hitler came to power.... Hitler was very intimate with him, but when Hitler needed money for his movement--it was about 1932-33--he went to

the big industrialists, the heavy industry people for money. They told him, "Yes, we are willing and ready to give you money to finance your movement, but you have to get rid of this Röhm; he is too socialistic." Because the movement was national socialistic. They said they would not give the money before he got rid of him. So Hitler went back to Munich and killed Röhm. Nobody knows exactly how he was killed, but that he was killed there is no doubt. It has never been negated. Some say that Hitler personally shot him. Others say it was his hangman who did it. I don't think that Hitler would have done it himself; he was not courageous enough. I think Röhm would have just laughed in his face when Hitler would have come in with a gun. [laughter]

WESCHLER: What about some of the other Nazis who were already beginning to get on the bandwagon? Rudolf Hess was already in the Munich days.

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember him. I never heard about him then. Also not about Goebbels, before we were in Berlin. But we left for Berlin in 1925.

WESCHLER: Were there any other Nazis at that point who were prominent in the movement besides Hitler and Röhm?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember. I know more those who were in a way so terribly disappointed because.... There was [Richard] Willstätter: he was a great chemist who got

the Nobel Prize. He was also, like Bruno Walter, so nationalistic and his pride was to be German. He also had, of course, to flee the country. He later was great man of the Rockefeller Institute. But those were--much more than anybody else, they were impressed, or I should say shocked by these Nazis, because in so many ways they had the same ideas as Hitler; except they were not anti-Semitic because they were Jews themselves.

WESCHLER: How did Thomas Mann respond?

FEUCHTWANGER: When Hitler came to power?

WESCHLER: No. In Munich, in the early days.

FEUCHTWANGER: In the early days, we didn't know him very well. But we knew Bruno Frank, who was our friend and also Thomas Mann's friend; and we could know, of course, that Thomas Mann had a Jewish wife, and his father-in-law and mother-in-law were Jewish, so it was very natural how he reacted. But even without that, he would have reacted against the Nazis. I think that was already the beginning of the changing of his attitude.

WESCHLER: He found that his attitudes had very, very strange bedfellows.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that's true. It's amazing: I never could understand anybody who was a nationalist--I was myself, when I was young, a nationalist--but I could not understand that somebody could be for war. That he was for the kaiser

and for the war against France--this I never could understand.

WESCHLER: We've talked about some specific Jews and how they responded. The Jewish community in Munich was the first community which had to cope with Nazis....

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know, because we were in Berlin then.

WESCHLER: But in 1923, at the time of the Putsch.

FEUCHTWANGER: We had not much to do with the community. We knew Jews, but the community itself was a religious thing.

WESCHLER: Do you think most of them were like the ones who bought the paper and laughed at him, or do you think there was a real sense of danger?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, they laughed at him, but at the same time, in their bones--although it was maybe a hundred years before that that the last pogroms were--but in their bones they must always have felt that sometimes there would be pogroms. That's why they were so anxious not to be too obvious; for example, the thing with my husband when he had the Phoebus scandal, that the parents paid immediately, only so that nothing would come in the newspaper.

WESCHLER: How did the members of Lion's family, for example, which was an Orthodox family, react?

FEUCHTWANGER: This had nothing to do with Orthodoxy.

WESCHLER: I'm trying to get a sense of how different groups in Munich responded to the Putsch.

FEUCHTWANGER: They didn't "respond" to the Putsch. Everybody was glad that it was over. And before, they didn't know much about it. Except the Völkischer Beobachter, this paper, they didn't know much about the Nazis. Nobody went to the meetings--it was so different; it was another world. Nobody thought about that. It's the same as the Catholics went to church: the others went to Hitler. They didn't pay much attention to the whole thing.

WESCHLER: Would it be fair to say that after the Putsch was over, most people assumed that that was the last thing you were going to be hearing of Hitler?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, absolutely, of course. He was sent to jail. But they let him off earlier than he had to stay there, and he was allowed to write this book in jail. But they said somebody helped him to write it. Of course, everybody was shocked that he was released earlier. But as I tell you, we were not in Munich anymore, so I don't know what happened in Munich.

WESCHLER: Let's talk a little bit about why you left Munich, and then we'll come back and talk a bit more about the books.

FEUCHTWANGER: I think we wouldn't have left Munich on account of Hitler. There were other reasons. For instance, the tax people: they came all the time and wanted to know more about our finances. We were impoverished like everybody else, except those who were black marketeers, by the inflation.

So they came to our apartment and said that my husband did not pay enough taxes. I said, "We pay what we have." They said, "For instance, for this play you got 50,000 marks." I said, "Yes, but what can you buy for 50,000 marks?" They said, "That's no difference, marks are marks. You have to pay. You are always with one foot in jail because you didn't pay your taxes." (But with 50,000 marks, you couldn't buy a pound of butter in those days. It was before the greatest inflation; it was in the middle of the inflation. Later it was in the billions, you know.) I said, "Yes, but you cannot say we have the money. I have money; I have some stocks, but they have risen, and even if I wanted to sell them, I can't buy anything with the money I get." So he said, "Yes, but we don't care. I will tell you something," said one of those officials. "If you were not born in Munich, we would have thrown you out a long time ago." They could not expel us out of Munich because we were both born there.

But they expelled other people, and this was a great scandal. Also there was a great businessman who sold very elegant linen and mostly embroidered linen, very expensive things, beautiful embroideries. This family came originally from Austria. Their name was Rosenberg, and they had two beautiful daughters; one was married to a nobleman. The shop was a kind of curiosity for everybody who came to Munich, to

see what beautiful things you can buy there. The owner did a very good thing: those girls who were prostitutes were taken in by a monastery, by a convent; they made those embroideries, and he paid them very well. It was because nobody else could have had the time to do those very complicated embroideries, and the nuns--it was called the Convent of the Good Shepherd--were very glad with this whole constellation. But then, all of a sudden, the man was expelled with his family and his shop was closed--because he was from Austria and he was Jewish. That was all. If he had done something, they would have sent him to jail. It was just that he was Jewish. That was already before Hitler came to power, the influence of the Nazis. The convent of the nuns, the Good Shepherd, had to close down, and the poor girls were all in the street because they had nobody anymore to buy their merchandise.

WESCHLER: So this harassment was one of the reasons.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that was very much. And also--didn't I tell about this Mrs. Deutsch who was then expelled? You know, when this policeman said, "Sit down, I'm a married man"?

WESCHLER: Oh yes, right.

FEUCHTWANGER: This lady had to leave Munich also. And her husband--I don't know if they were married, but they lived together--was a young aristocrat, very good

looking, and when he came to say goodbye (because he was going also to Berlin, where Mrs. Deutsch lived), he said, "Go to the window." We went to the window, and there were two men standing there. Typical like detectives. Everywhere and in every country you can recognize the detectives. Either they have a trench coat or--those had hard hats. Anyway, he said, "You know, they follow me everywhere; they followed me also to your house." And really the next day they came, and it was those tax people. So it was already harassment. Because this man--Renato von Hollander was his name--was at our house, we were already suspicious and they harassed us. My husband said, "With one foot you are already in jail if you just exist here." Because when they say that a mark is a mark, even when it's devalued in this way, and so it is a crime if you don't pay the taxes.

WESCHLER: What were some of the positive reasons why you went to Berlin?

FEUCHTWANGER: The first was, of course, Brecht. Every week came a letter saying, "You have to come to Berlin. Munich is becoming a provincial town. There is too much censorship." (Not censorship, but nobody dared to do anything anymore.) He said, "You cannot live anymore in this atmosphere." Then Heinrich Mann also said so, and so we finally went to Berlin.

WESCHLER: Why had Heinrich Mann left?

FEUCHTWANGER: There were two reasons. First of all, his marriage [with Maria Kanova] went apart, and so he went for a short while to Berlin where he then fell in love with an artiste, an actress [Trude Hesterberg]; so he stayed there. But also he stayed because he said he couldn't stand the atmosphere of Munich anymore.

WESCHLER: How much of the Schwabing scene survived beyond 1925? It sounds like everybody was leaving.

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. Munich after 1925 is absolutely like a foreign country to me. I came through twice, when I went skiing always. I met then Lutschi [Feuchtwanger] and Bruno Frank. They both invited me for dinner. That was all.

WESCHLER: They stayed in Munich longer.

FEUCHTWANGER: They stayed all the time, until the time of Hitler. Lutschi came into the concentration camp, but that is a later story.

WESCHLER: All these people we have been talking about, the household of the sculptress [Lotte Pritzel], all these kinds of Bohemian activities--did they seem to persist in Munich?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think they stayed in Munich, but the two gentlemen who befriended her, they went to Switzerland because it turned out they were also Jewish. Nobody would

have thought it. You know, we didn't think always, "Is this person a Jew or not?" in our circle. Mostly also before Hitler came, the Jews were accepted absolutely; they were assimilated as German, so nobody thought all the time about it. It turned out that so many people were Jewish, and nobody knew about it before. When they were not religious, you know.

WESCHLER: Well, in the next interview we'll talk about the early years in Berlin, but right now I'd like to go back and talk about the books that we've suggested, talk about them in more detail. First of all, the obvious point is that Lion is not writing plays anymore; he's writing novels. How did that change come about?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think I was the reason for it. I thought always.... He had recognized himself that Jud Süß didn't give what he wanted; he couldn't tell in a play what he wanted to say. It would take too much room, and he couldn't afford this shortening which a five-act play or so demands. But he didn't realize that so much. He only was unhappy after he had seen the play. The play was successful, but he said, "I think it was maybe the direction or the actors." So I said, "I think you should leave writing plays and should write a novel." So he said, "All right, I'll try." He began to write the novel which was later to become Thomas Wendt. It began as a novel.

He read to me the beginning, and I found it awful and he found it also awful. So he said, "I think I will write a play after all." Then he wrote an epic play; that was Thomas Wendt. But he said, "You cannot do that all the time. That is good for this kind of idea, but you cannot treat everything in this kind of [structure]." So he said, "I think I will write a novel about Jud Süß, what I wanted to explain." So he asked the publisher if he was interested in a novel, because it was the use to speak to the publisher beforehand. And the publisher said, "Of course, every novel you write is of interest to us." And he gave my husband a rather substantial advance. We needed that very much--always came something in the last moment or in the right moment. So my husband began to write, and after several weeks he said, "I think it's too long to write a novel. I could write a play in three months. How long does it take me to write a novel? I think I begin again with a play." Then I said, "Yes, that would be all right, but do you know we have already used the whole advance? We cannot pay it back." He said, "Yes, that's true." So he sat down a little bit invita Minerva--that's a Latin proverb meaning, "not with much mood"--and he began again to write. And all of a sudden he didn't stop anymore, and he wrote day and night. I remember there was a film ball, and he usually went there. It was a very beautiful occasion

where you met everybody; it was very gay. But he said, "I think I will stay home and write." So I went alone there, and when I came home at three o'clock in the morning, here Lion said, "I have finished." So on the day when the film ball was, I remember, the novel Jud Süß was finished. I think he worked about two years on it.

WESCHLER: How was the activity of writing a novel different than writing a play for him?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was something absolutely different. He had written a novel before, but he was so unhappy about his first novel [Der tönerne Gott] that he didn't want to think of it. That was also the reason why he didn't want to write another novel.

WESCHLER: I mean, did he have a different working style than when he was writing a play?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, absolutely, because when he wrote the plays he went out in the evenings. He didn't change. Everywhere there was always something in Munich; either they came all to us or we came to the others. Everybody brought a bottle of wine or some butter (when they had it) or some bread. When we were very elegant, some ham. And some eggs also. Every night, I think, there was something. During the Fasching, a special occasion was Steinecke. Steinecke was in the Akademiestrasse. That was across from us; only

the Akademie was between. Our street was Georgestrasse, and we had no visibility but the gardens of the Akademie. On the other side, where the entrance of the Akademie was, across the street lived Brecht in a room, and there was also a bookshop. The owner of the bookshop was ["Papa"] Steinecke. Also the Simplicissimus, this famous restaurant where Valentin was playing, was there. Before it was somewhere else, and it was like a long intestine, but this was a little better situation. Steinecke was between Brecht and Simplicissimus. This man was a bachelor and he liked all those people; they came and bought his book but never paid for it. He was so in the middle of Schwabing.

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Steinecke. The name sounds Prussian. We didn't ask what he was, and everybody liked him. He was very much for all the Bohemians. He had a Hinterstube, a back room, where he usually had the packing room for his books, and this was cleaned out every winter. And during carnival he had dancing there. It didn't cost anything. He invited everybody, and the most famous people--except Thomas Mann--everybody was there. Arnold Zweig came in a domino, they called it, as an Italian masquerade. It's a coat, a black coat and in white. He was a good designer (his wife was also a painter), and all the persons of his novels were designed on his black coat, up and down, you

know. It was like a duster, a big thing. So the costumes were all self-made. It's called the Nachtwanderer, the people who go around in the night, night wanderers. That was the title of all those doings. I came as a burglar once. I made up myself. I took a suit of my husband and made myself up like an Apache--that was a French underworld. I made a black eye, and all thing things that you usually use in a fireplace were hanging from my belt as burglar tools. It was very amusing, very gay. You could let your hair down, as you say; it was like that. Sometimes I went also--from Tunis where we were prisoners-of-war, I saved a shawl, an enormous black shawl which was all embroidered in silver. Not embroidered--it was silver plates; they were bent around so it was all like a fish, the shells of a fish. I wrapped that around myself, and I had only one strap so it wouldn't fall down, nothing else, and this did a great effect. It was really a beautiful thing, and I think from then on Lotte Pritzel called me "The Queen of the Night." Then I had a little veil over my eyes--it was a kind of mask--and I looked very demonic, or least I thought so. [laughter] But I had always to have so much evening clothes, you know, that [once] I wanted to let my hair down, so I came as a burglar. I liked that very much.

So one night we went home, I don't know who it was--

we were all hanging arm in arm, and behind us I saw a whole row also arm in arm. And all of a sudden I heard somebody say something which sounded familiar to me. And I said, "Is that the man of the beast?" And it was Arnold Zweig. He had been in the army as a sappeur, those who have to prepare the trenches. They had to prepare the trenches. They were ordinary soldiers. That was the lowest part of the army and also the most dangerous, because they had no arms. They had only a kind of [shovel].

WESCHLER: The advance troops.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. The others could go into the trenches which they had to prepare. So they were...

WESCHLER: ...subject to fire all the time.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, they were under fire. That was the most dangerous, and they were the most contempted because they never shot. Arnold Zweig had very bad eyes: he couldn't shoot; he would never have seen what he was shooting at. He would have shot his own officers probably. Anyway, during the war he was in Belgium. At the beginning, he wrote a little short story which was in the Weltbühne, which had before been the Schaubühne. (Jacobsohn, who founded it, the publisher, said, "Now is no time anymore for Schaubühne"--which means stage--"it is now the World

Bühne, the stage of the world.") He became political, also pacifistic. And they had printed Zweig's short novel, which was very impressive. My husband and I liked it very much. But we didn't know Arnold Zweig then.

I don't know how it came out, but I called back to this group in the middle of the night and said, "Is there the man of the beast?" And he said yes. So we stopped, and they came to us, and in the middle of the night, and it was very dark and we were tired from dancing. We made acquaintance.

The next morning, very early--we were still in bed--rang the bell, and that was Zweig coming. We took our robes and let him in. He brought me something which I had never seen, a little pocket, a little pouch with a zipper--I had never seen something like that; he got it from a relative in America--with Tabak in it. It was just after the war when nobody had tobacco to smoke. And he smoked a pipe. So, to greet us and to make a friendship with us, he brought this dearest thing what he had, the pouch without the tobacco, but with the first zipper that ever came to Germany, and he gave it to me. And to my husband he brought an old coin, an old Greek coin. That was the beginning of a lifelong friendship.

WESCHLER: A zipper friendship.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, a zipper friendship. It was zipped.

[laughter]

Then there was somebody else. There was an enormous man there, very strong, broad-shouldered; and every girl, every woman, who he just fell his eye on, he took her dancing, wild dancing. So he came also to me. I never came with my feet to the ground. He had me in his arms and swung me around and brisked me; I almost couldn't breathe anymore. Then he let me go and went to another. He didn't even look at my face. And this was Oskar Maria Graf. The Bavarian writer, a typical Bavarian writer, a great writer. He was also published in America and became an honorary doctor at a university. We never met really. We never spoke with each other; that was the only time. Later on, when we were here in America, he wrote letters to my husband; he also wrote about him and about his novels. He was a great admirer of Thomas Mann and of my husband; they were both his idols. So they corresponded, but they never met here in America. And when my husband had died, he wrote me a letter saying that he was suffering from asthma and was going to Arizona and wants to meet me as the wife of Lion Feuchtwanger. He came here and visited me and we had a wonderful time.

WESCHLER: Did he remember dancing with you?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. I told you he didn't even look at me. I found a room for him which wasn't too expensive, and--oh, it was a funny thing. He came by car from Arizona with his

wife, a very nice person. She was his second wife; his first wife died very early and was very unhappy then. She was the half-sister of Manfred George; you probably know him from the Aufbau, the great Jewish-American newspaper. This was his first wife. Then happily he found another very nice person. We are still corresponding. And I found for them a little room, but it was in a nice place, on the ocean, on Ocean Drive. It was not more than a bed in it, but it was nice and clean.

I told the consul general from Germany that "Oskar Maria Graf is here and you must do something about him." So friends of mine invited him for a lecture. He read out of his books, and I made a little introduction. And then the consul general had to go away, and his consul, Dr. Weinrowsky--she was a lady--she invited Oskar Maria Graf to Jack's at the Beach, this fish restaurant--and me, too, of course, because I introduced him. But all of a sudden he had a terrible asthma attack and it was only his wife who could come. I even sent him a doctor who could help him so that it felt a little bit better, but the doctor said he couldn't go out to the restaurant although it was very near. But when we were eating there, we were very sad that this whole thing fell through, because it was intended for him; so I said to Dr. Weinrowsky, "I think we take some chicken and some wine, and we go now to the room of Oskar Maria

Graf." His wife said after the doctor had been there he felt a little better. So we came--it was kind of a court; inside there was a yard and a balcony. From this balcony you went into his room. There were only two beds and nothing else; I think, one chair. In this chair Oskar Maria Graf was sitting, and he looked like death; he looked terrible. He hadn't eaten for a long time. We brought him the chicken, and he began to eat the chicken and drink some wine. He became so gay that he all of a sudden said, "I will read some of my poems to you." So we were sitting on his bed, because there were no chairs. Dr. Weinrowsky is very formal, you know, dignified, from North Germany where they don't know these moods and that kind of behavior as in Bavaria: sitting on a bed, you know--it just can't be done. But when he awoke all of a sudden and he was in such a good mood and reading from his poetry, it was for her the greatest experience in her life. The next time when I saw the consul general from Germany--it was Mr. [Hans Rolf] Kiderlen--he said, "You know, Dr. Weinrowsky, she is not the same anymore since she went through...." [laughter] That was Oskar Maria Graf. And he didn't have the faintest memories that he had ever danced with me. And I told him that. [laughter]

WESCHLER: We are almost at the end of the tape today, but I did want to ask a couple of other questions about the early novels of Lion, and we'll talk more about them next time.

A good deal has been written about the way Lion wrote his novels in his later life, with the different shades of paper, the different versions.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, Jud Süß he wrote by hand, in longhand, and he gave me the manuscript. And also the next novel, which appeared first, The Ugly Duchess. Both are written in longhand, and both are in the safe at USC, at the university. They belong to me. I have been offered for each of them \$6,000.

WESCHLER: Did he reword the writing extensively?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, he was a very slow writer. I wrote it from his handwriting into the typewriter. And I learned.... We had just got a cheap typewriter.

WESCHLER: Already at that time you were doing that?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. I had to copy it always at night because we could only heat one room with a little iron stove. It was a very, very cold winter. Even then my fingers were stiff. But I couldn't write on the typewriter in the same room where he was writing his book. So he wrote in longhand in the day, and I copied it at night with my stiff fingers. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Did you have corrections and revisions and so forth?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, we had a lot of discussion all the time.

WESCHLER: Are there any parts of Jud Süß which you take credit for?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I wouldn't know that. I take only credit that I had the idea for him to write a novel about it. Because I told him, "You always complain that it didn't come out. Why don't you write a novel?" But that's my only help which I gave him.

WESCHLER: One final question for the day: now, as we look back on his career, we think of Feuchtwanger as an historical novelist, as that being the genre which he excelled in.

FEUCHTWANGER: In a way, but he also wrote modern novels.

WESCHLER: Right. But the genre which is one of the ways in which he is best known is the historical novel. Do you think that as he was writing those first two novels, which were both historical novels, do you think that he saw his life already as lying particularly in that direction, or did that just develop?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was only that he was interested in those themes. He was interested in the man who paid with his life for the guilt of others, and also in a man who was so brilliant with so much lust for life, who then turned to let himself fall. Süß could have saved himself if he had converted to Christianity. He was not a religious man at all. He would have been saved. But he let himself fall because.... Also in the Bible there are those kinds of

ideas where it is better to sleep than to be awake, or better to be dead. And Indian philosophy had great influence on my husband in those days.

WESCHLER: One very clearly has a sense of the difference between European power and Far Eastern inaction.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. But the title "Power" had nothing to do with this novel. His novel was called Jud Süß. Only in America the publisher called it Power. Lion had nothing to do with that.

WESCHLER: Well, why don't we stop for today. In the next session, I would like to talk more about Jud Süß. Also, we have given the Ugly Duchess short shrift; she deserves more. Then we will begin to get into Berlin.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

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JULY 24, 1975

WESCHLER: We have some more stories of life in Munich.

To begin with, you were telling me about some of the lectures that were given in Munich at the Gallery Caspari.

FEUCHTWANGER: [Georg Caspari] had a branch of the gallery of Paul Cassirer in Berlin. Cassirer was not only the husband of the famous actress [Tilla] Durieux, but he was a famous man himself because he introduced the impressionists into Germany. They were absolutely unknown. He not only bought many of the famous impressionist pictures himself and had a wonderful gallery, a private gallery also, but he introduced the changing of the taste of painting; this was his merit. And he had a branch in Munich. The director and owner was Caspari, and he had this wonderful gallery in Munich where I saw for the first time a sculpture of [Wilhelm] Lehmbruck. For me it was a revelation; I never saw things like that before. I must say I have [discovered] him, for myself at least. There were always lectures there, by Thomas Mann or Heinrich Mann or my husband and once....

WESCHLER: At the gallery?

FEUCHTWANGER: At the gallery. There were literary evenings. Once he invited Jakob Wassermann from Vienna. Originally his family had come from Furth, and he was born

there, where the Feuchtwangers were all born when they had to flee from Feuchtwangen. He read for the first time, before it was printed, a short story called "The Son" ["Der Sohn"]. It made a great impression on me; it was a very interesting short story. Afterwards, he talked with my husband and told him that they were related, that he comes also from Furth. One of the sisters of long ago-- he was a descendant of her--married a man with the name of Wassermann who was a goldsmith, and he comes from this family. So they were related. My husband had never heard about that before.

WESCHLER: Did they become friends after that?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, Wasserman went back to Vienna, and, you know, in those days there was not much connection. When somebody was in another city, there were no planes or so; it took a long time to go and everybody had his own friends, his own circle. Later in the immigration, they exchanged letters because Jakob Wassermann went to Switzerland, and he also died there. But there was not much personal relations anymore.

WESCHLER: At these literary evenings, what kinds of things, for instance, did Thomas Mann read?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he read mostly from one of his novels, but I don't remember which novel it was. I think it was Königliche Hoheit (Royal Highness). And Heinrich Mann wrote

a short story about his sister. It was called "The Sister," I think. My husband--I think he read from The Ugly Duchess.

WESCHLER: What kinds of audience were there? Was this a relatively select audience?

FEUCHTWANGER: A very select audience--lots of writers and painters, of course, because it was also a gallery. But the best names of the German painters.

WESCHLER: Okay. We now also have a story about what it was like to get paid during the inflation.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. When my husband [was about to write] this novel, The Ugly Duchess, which he has been asked to write for the book club, he was asked what kind of theme he would like to depict. Then he said he was always interested in ugly women; maybe it was already a kind of women's lib, because he was interested in what the ugly women were doing with their lives and how they succeeded and how their fate was.

WESCHLER: Is this something about which he spoke with you often beforehand?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. He always said that he would not have written anything without asking me first if I agreed with it.

WESCHLER: This theme of ugly women: who were some of the other women that he was interested in?

FEUCHTWANGER: Later he wrote a play which was called The

Oil Islands [Die Petroleuminseln], and this was the same theme, only about a modern woman.

WESCHLER: Okay. Well, continue with the story.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. And then there was a wonderful man by the name of [?] Adler, who was a lawyer and very much interested in literature and in writers. He was also the counselor of the literary guild, you could say, the writer's guild. He asked my husband what he did with his book when he made a contract, and then he looked at the contract and found it very, very good and advantageous. But he said, "You have to be very careful with the money because when you get the money, it will only be sent to you, and until you get it as a check, it will be nothing worth anymore." So he said we had to [make it so] that the day it will be published the payment of the advance will be due. The advances were very high always in those days, a big part of the whole deal. So he said, "We have to go to Berlin, and I go with you; I do it on my own because I know that a writer cannot pay so much for a lawyer. We go together in a third-class sleeping car. We will have to bring the money back right away to Munich and bring it to the bank and buy some stocks or whatever is best." And that's what they did. They came back with big bags, enormous bags, in which there were all the bills. One mark was the same as a billion, or a billion was the same as before a gold mark.

That's why they had so many billions.

WESCHLER: They actually had bills that were a billion marks?

FEUCHTWANGER: Bills, ja. The highest bill was one billion.

But it was not worth more than one mark in peacetime. So they had to bring it back themselves in the sleeping car with big bags. I remember how I opened the door and the porter had I don't know how many big bags--they were enormous bags like bean bags or so. And then the porter had to bring them to the bank.

WESCHLER: And did the inflation get worse after that?

FEUCHTWANGER: After that, it couldn't get worse. After that it was converted into Rentenmarks. That means--I don't know what that means in translation; it's just that it was again one mark. And all this other money wasn't worth anymore. Just at the right moment my husband brought it to the bank, because [in those days] people could make wall-paper out of that money. It was a terrible time, mostly for people who were older and had no business anymore.

WESCHLER: On fixed incomes.

FEUCHTWANGER: Fixed incomes, ja, ja.

WESCHLER: You have another story from that general period of what happened while Lion was in Berlin....

FEUCHTWANGER: To get the money. He was with this man Adler, who was just a great person and a friend of humanity. That same night was the first night of our friend Bruno

Frank's play The Woman on the Beast [Das Weib auf dem Tiere]. It was a successful play. Afterwards, of course, we celebrated at the house of the director and owner of the theater, Adolf Kaufmann, who was also a friend of Eisner. In the afternoon the first actress of the theater, a very young actress, and I and Caspar Neher and Bertolt Brecht, we four went to....

WESCHLER: What was the name of the actress?

FEUCHTWANGER: Maria Koppenhöfer. She later became very famous, but there she was only a beginner. And we went to the Starnberger See for a swim and for rowing. We were there the whole day, in the open air, and it was a great day. Of course, we went back to Munich and took a shower and went very elegant into the first night of the theater. But we were all terrible thirsty. Maria Koppenhöfer had a terrible sunburn on her back, and I had to powder it with calcium to relieve her from her burning. We went to the theater, and then when we came to the party of Mr. Kaufmann, I said, "I'm terrible thirsty, this whole day in the sun. Give me something cold to drink." And they gave me a big glass--I think it was a quarter of a liter or so--and I drank it in one swallow. It was wonderful, sweet and cold. But it was Schwedenpunch--it was pure liquor, but I didn't know it; I had never even heard before about it. In those days it was the fashion to serve that at parties, but

only in little glasses, not in such big glasses like a beer glass. So I was so dizzy, all of a sudden, that I didn't even realize that I was just drunk. I sat down and said, "I don't know what happened; it must be the heat or something." Then the man who made the sets, [Leo] Pasetti--who was an aristocrat, a very nice person and a great artist--he said, "You know, you have to drink a little bit." And on the other side, I think, was Caspar Neher, and he also said, "Yes, of course, that is the only thing that will help you." So Pasetti gave me a little glass of red liquor, and Caspar Neher gave me green liquor, and they always saw to it that I never took two of the same at once; I had always to change from one to the other. It didn't help very much, of course, but I wasn't conscious of that. Afterwards, it was such a beautiful night that we went into the English Garden for a walk--it was about midnight--but I was lucky that there were two, so one watched the other, so that nothing could happen to me. And they brought me home.

I came home. I'm usually very orderly, but all my clothes the next day I found somewhere on the floor; in every room there was another piece. I was sleeping--I didn't wake up--and then the bell rang. I went to the door, and I realized that I was absolutely naked, I had nothing on. Outside there must have been somebody who was always ringing the bell. I was swaying behind the door, but fortunately I didn't open it:

I only swayed, until this person outside was tired of waiting and left and put only a card into the mailbox. I took the card out, and then I realized what had happened. On this day, I had an appointment with a publisher who came from Vienna to speak about a luxury edition of The Ugly Duchess. This was a very famous publishing house which made very beautiful illustrated luxury editions [Delphin Verlag(?)]. When I was just looking at this card, I realized what I had missed; then there came Maria Koppenhöfer, who wanted to see how I am, and also that I would powder her back again, which was burning. I opened the door for her because I realized it was she. I recognized her voice, and I gave her this card. She said, "You have to do something, you cannot--you have to do something." I said, "Yes, but I am still so dizzy I couldn't do anything." She said, "You have to. You take a shower; I will get a taxi for you, and you go into this hotel which is written on the visiting card. You will speak with this man." And that's what I did.

But I still was not quite sober when I was at the hotel, and this man invited me in and offered me a glass of liquor. [laughter] Fortunately I didn't drink that, but I asked for a cigarette. I usually didn't smoke much, but I thought it would give me more poise, something to hang on to. So then he told me what he intended to do with the book--how he would make it--and he offered me a rather big sum in advance. I still

couldn't speak very much, and so I didn't answer--just swayed a little bit in my chair. Then the man thought it wasn't enough, and he immediately doubled the sum. So I realized I had to do something, and I said, "All right, let's sign it." Then we signed the contract, and I left. But this publication was never realized; the publishing house closed, and we had \$3,000 without doing anything. My husband still had the rights to it. [laughter]

WESCHLER: So there we have a moral tale about the virtues of drinking.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. [laughter] But maybe it's also the virtue of not telling anything, not talking.

WESCHLER: Right, but that is not the virtue of this interview. [laughter] You also had mentioned, just in passing, that you were responsible for Koppenhöfer's walk, which later became a very famous walk.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, she was a beautiful person, dark, and she had some Polish blood also. She was tall and wonderfully built, but she just made little steps on the stage. I said, "You cannot walk like that. You are tall, and you have to make tall steps, long steps, and not even lift your leg too much; it must be like sliding." I showed her how to do it, and she did it. Later on, in the reviews, there was always the talk about her sexy way of moving and walking. I also lent her sometimes my clothes, capes or things like

that.

WESCHLER: Well, we've talked a good deal about the condition under which The Ugly Duchess and Jud Süß were both published, but today I want to talk about how they fared once they were published. Now, The Ugly Duchess was published first?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was published first. Since it was in a literary club and the newspapers usually did not pay any attention to [these club publications], there were no critics. But this way, the first time--it was before Jud Süß--to treat a historical theme was so new that it drew lots of attention. In the Frankfurter Zeitung there was a very great critic who was well known, by the name of Heilborn; and to our surprise he wrote an enormous lauding and praising review. And then also others followed. This was, of course, very advantageous, and they had lots of subscribers after this.

With Jud Süß, it was a great success but nothing spectacular. Then the founder and owner of the Viking Press in New York went to see with his wife her parents in Sweden. She was born in Sweden. There was a professor from Berlin there for a visit.* And he knew also the parents of Mrs. Huebsch. (His name was Ben Huebsch.) This man told Mr. Huebsch that he knew he was a great publisher and told him, "I have read a great book, and I also spoke in lectures

* In her notes Mrs. Feuchtwanger identifies this man as Professor Magnus, who was married to Freud's niece (Grace Magnus).

and in my classes about this book which is called Jud Süss, and I would really recommend you to read it." Huebsch read it and was very enthusiastic and immediately came to Berlin and spoke to my husband about publishing it.

Then--but there was another publishing house just founded in London. It was founded by [Henry Mond], Lord Melchett. His wife [Sonia Graham], who was a very beautiful Gentile woman from South Africa, wanted to do something except just being the wife of the very rich lord who owned the first chemical factory. So as a birthday present he told her that he would found, with Martin Secker--who was a friend of the house--a publishing house. This was then the Martin Secker publishing house [Martin Secker, Ltd.]. Lord Melchett was, of course, the son of the famous chemist factory owner, [Alfred] Mond. He had done so much for the English economy that the Queen Victoria had named him lord and given him a lordship, an inheritable lordship, so his son [then received it]. And that always brings the name of an estate: the lord has to be named after a big estate. So he got a big estate, the estate of Melchett, or the castle of Melchett, and his son was then the Lord Melchett. He and the Rothschilds founded Israel, in a way, because one of the chemists in the factory was Chaim Weizmann, who was later president of Israel. And Chaim Weizmann was asked by the English government to invent a counterpoison against

the poison gas of the Germans during the First World War. That was all during the First World War. Weizmann invented the right thing, and Lord [Arthur James] Balfour later on wanted to make him also a lord, but Weizmann said, "I would rather that Israel would be a home state for the Jews." Mostly Jews who had to flee the pogroms in Russia. So instead of becoming a lord, Chaim Weizmann became president of Israel. We met him when we were in England, in the house, the castle of Lord Melchett.

WESCHLER: Rushing ahead, just briefly, what was Weizmann like?

FEUCHTWANGER: Weizmann was very interesting, a fascinating man, not very good looking. He looked Jewish, black beard. But when he spoke.... We were at a big dinner table at Lord Melchett's castle. There was also a cousin of the queen and many of the parliament there. He was sitting across from me. My escort was the cousin of the queen. We had a lively conversation, but all of a sudden Weizmann spoke and everybody was quiet. Nobody spoke when Weizmann spoke, and he was not even the president then. He was just so fascinating a man that when he spoke then everybody listened. We were also many times together with him. Also when he was here, we were invited at the Hotel Miramar. He had a little house there.

WESCHLER: What did he speak about at that time, do you

remember?

FEUCHTWANGER: Funny thing: I remember he spoke about the economy and also that he found it so good that the Prince of Wales (who was later the Duke of Windsor)--he said, "It is good that he is interested in traveling and he does so much for the economy of England." He went around and he asked certain things which only England manufactured, and then people didn't have it, so he went to the manufacturer and said, "You should also take from our country what people want to use." So he did a lot for the economy.

WESCHLER: So Weizmann was very much an Englishman.

FEUCHTWANGER: He was very much English, absolutely. Until to the end even. When we spoke with him here.... For a while it was a very bad time for the Jews and Israel, for the Jews in Israel and England, because England didn't allow them to land in Israel on account of the Arabs, who they didn't want to offend.

WESCHLER: In the mid-forties, this was.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Anyway, but he said to my husband, "I'm still for England. I still feel as an Englishman." Although he was born in Poland or in Russia.

WESCHLER: Well, let's get back to the story of the publishing of the books. So Lord Melchett and the head of Viking....

FEUCHTWANGER: My husband spoke to him, and Jud Süss was then the first publishing in this new publishing house. It was also received very well.

WESCHLER: It was published simultaneously by both houses.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, in America and England together. And it has been received--I don't know so much what happened in America; only later on--in England with, well, sympathy; it was a good success, but not more. Then Arnold Bennett, who was a great novelist in those times--he and [H.G.] Wells together were the most read novelists--he read the book and was so enthusiastic, he wrote a glowing review in one of these magazines or periodicals, and the review itself made a sensation. From then on the book was accepted everywhere. The success was so great that it went back to Germany and influenced the German success and immediately also the American success. Because England in those days was very much influential in connection with books and literature.

WESCHLER: There was also a movie made of it in England, wasn't there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, a movie was made in England, by Gaumont-British. Conrad Veidt, who later came here and was a famous actor, played the Jud Süß. And one actor who escaped from Berlin played the rabbi. He was a very famous actor in Berlin and he couldn't live without Berlin; he died of a broken heart. That was the last part that he played.

WESCHLER: Do you remember his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. Not right now. [Paul Graetz actually played the role of Landauer.]

WESCHLER: Then later on there was a Nazi version of it.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. The Nazis had of course noticed this big success of the movie, and they thought that they would take advantage of it and also the success of the book. They made a movie and turned everything into the contrary. It was a very anti-Semitic movie, and the greatest actor, Werner Krauss, played I think four or five parts, each one more anti-Semitic than the other. After the war, it was of course forbidden by the new German state--it was forbidden and also it was proclaimed that all the copies had to be destroyed. That was the condition for many who had been under suspicion. Also Harlan, who was the director of this movie.... He had to come before the Persil--this was kind of like a soap: detergent court, they called it. Somebody had to clean himself of any suspicion.

WESCHLER: Purging.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, but they called it detergent. Detergent Court. They had to prove that they didn't do any wrong during the Nazi time. And Harlan--everybody knew that he made that film. Veit Harlan was his name, and he played before in plays of my husband and was very much liberal before. He said he couldn't do anything else, because he had been asked to do it, so he had to do it. The actor who played Jud Süß--[Ferdinand] Marian was his name--had to do it because Goebbels asked him directly to play this part.

He played it and afterwards committed suicide.

WESCHLER: This man who played Jud Süß was not Jewish.

FEUCHTWANGER: No. Ach. Of course not. During the Nazi time, nobody was Jewish.

WESCHLER: Did you ever see that movie?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I didn't want to see it. But I have been told by [Erich Maria] Remarque, he told us that it was very well done, it was very--and this was the danger of it, you see. Werner Krauss was the greatest actor in those days. Werner Krauss afterwards was asked by Erich Pommer, the great film producer--he went back to Germany for a visit and he saw Werner Krauss, and Krauss came to him and said, "I had to do it because if I hadn't done it, somebody else would have done it." And Erich Pommer said he just turned his back on him. He didn't want to speak to him. Werner Krauss played five parts, and each one was more anti-Semitic than the other. He played the rabbi, the uncle of Jud Süß, and also other parts. It was not enough that one was unsympathetic: he had to play five different parts. And Marian played Jud Süß. What Erich Maria Remarque told us was that he was in a way sympathetic. It seems that the actor did everything to make it not too anti-Semitic. After he had finished filming, then he committed suicide. He had been [menaced] with threats by Goebbels: he had to do it, but he was then so disgusted that he committed suicide.

WESCHLER: Just parenthetically, for researchers, it should be noted that [Marcel] Ophuls's film The Sorrow and the Pity has a part of this film Jud Süss in it.

FEUCHTWANGER: His father [Max Ophuls] was a famous movie man already, the father of Marcel, and had the name of Oppenheimer, I think, and then came the name Ophuls out of it.

WESCHLER: Anyway, his son, who made this movie The Sorrow and the Pity, does include scenes from the Nazi version in it.

FEUCHTWANGER: I have also to tell you later maybe what happened with the movie, with the forbidden movie. Should I tell it right away? Because it happened here.

WESCHLER: Sure.

FEUCHTWANGER: I told you that it was ordered to be destroyed, all the copies have been destroyed; Veit Harlan didn't get such a great prison term because he promised to do everything that it would really be destroyed. He went later to Switzerland where he died rather young. Here, about ten years ago maybe, I got a letter from Switzerland from two lawyers who wrote me that they had a copy of the film Jud Süss, and if I pay \$100,000, then I can have the copy. And if I don't pay it, then they would sell it to Egypt. So I gave this letter to my agent, Dr. Felix Guggenheim, and he said, "Write them. Don't say no right away. We want to know a little more what happens with them." So I wrote them

that I would like to know more details. But they must have become suspicious that something happened and they didn't answer anymore. But isn't it amazing, this?

WESCHLER: To your knowledge, though, it was not given to Egypt?

FEUCHTWANGER: It wouldn't help very much. It was in German. Of course, they could have made subtitles, but I have not heard anything about it. Anyway, they didn't follow up; they didn't write anymore.

WESCHLER: Another follow-up story I heard was the one about the French....

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but I have to tell you something else about the film. Somebody sent me a newspaper from Germany, a German newspaper, and there it was said that as collateral for a bet, a copy of the film Jud Süss has been offered, in Stuttgart. So this letter I sent to the German government in Germany and said, "It has been promised that every copy would be destroyed. How come that this happened?" They wrote me back that they were very grateful; they didn't hear about it. By chance, somebody, just a person I didn't even know, sent me this clipping. They immediately took the copy into custody, and it will not be published anymore.

WESCHLER: Do you know if it exists, though, for research purposes?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. I never heard about it. It shouldn't also. The German government forbid it and ordered it to be destroyed. But it must have existed because Ophuls made this film.

WESCHLER: Well, apparently part of it exists.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. And there was another thing in France. When the Germans invaded, they ordered that this film should be shown everywhere in a very big way. The French, when they wanted to see a film, they had to see that. Everybody was very upset, all the people who were, of course, against the Germans. [After the war] it was also in the newspapers that a man who made a movie like this and who wrote the book before it, should not be allowed to publish in France. The funny thing was that everybody had forgotten that it had been published, of course, long before, twenty years or so.

WESCHLER: So after the war people were against publishing Lion's work.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, immediately after the war, they said Feuchtwanger cannot be published anymore in France because he wrote this book which has been made into such a terrible movie. Then somebody wrote an open letter in the newspaper and said, "How can such nonsense be printed that Feuchtwanger was a Nazi? During the whole Hitler time he was in Russia." [laughter] And that was even worse in those times, because this was during the [House] Un-American Committee [years].

Of course my husband was in Russia, but only for two months, not "during the whole Hitler time."

WESCHLER: With friends like that, who needs enemies?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, that's true. Also in an encyclopedia [Twentieth Century Authors, H.W. Wilson Company, New York, 1942], it was written that he was two years in Russia, because he arrived in December 1936 and left January 1937. That was not even two months, but because the two years were cited so it was always written "two years." Now, in the last publishing I have seen it is corrected: it says, "At the turn of the year, 1937...."

WESCHLER: Well, when we get there we will talk about that trip. [pause in tape]

Okay, we're right on the very edge of your leaving Munich and going to Berlin, and you mentioned off tape that in that period you also went to Yugoslavia.

FEUCHTWANGER: Before we left Munich then, we wanted to make a trip from Munich to Yugoslavia. It was very cheap because in Austria, where we went first, and also in Yugoslavia, there was just then an inflation. For once we had the advantage of an inflation. Until then we had lost only money. So we came to Yugoslavia, and in Trieste we took a small ship, a very beautiful little small ship. It was very nice to go because they docked at every interesting place. We could go out and see. So we came to a little place which

was called Draû. You had to go by bus, and all of a sudden you were in the middle of a small miniature Venice--everything was only channels and little palaces also from the same time as Venice, built in the Renaissance. Only a very small town but it was almost more beautiful than Venice itself, because there were no foreigners there and it was absolutely without any commercial enterprise. Very near to that was an old city--Salona, it was called--and it had old ruins from the Romans. We were shown a house which had central heating, and in it was the following way: in the cellar they had a big basin, and there they had stones and tiles and bricks. They made fire under these bricks, and they became very hot. Then they threw water on the bricks which, of course, created big foam and steam, and the steam went through pipes into the house where it was like a central heating. Of course, you had to have many slaves to do that. But still it was interesting that they had already invented the whole thing. Then we went farther to Cattaro. You don't see it from the ocean where we were in the ship because the entrance is so narrow, and the rocks, that you cannot see it from outside. But inside is then a part of the ocean. It looks like a lake. Then there was a road very high up, and very high up there was this town of Cattaro. A very interesting and also unusual part of nature that you couldn't see it at first. It was like a fairy tale, when you went straight into

the rocks and came to a deep blue lake and then on top, on a hill, was a city.

Then further on we came to Ragusa, which is now called (after the Yugoslavs had taken over from the Austrians) Dubrovnik. Ragusa is an old medieval town also and is still like it was. Around is a wall with high towers, and you go through the main street which has cobblestones. And you see from both sides into the houses, through archways, and it looks absolutely like Spain. There are courtyards with archways inside and mostly a little fountain or so. It is also like a fairy tale. It is very well preserved because they don't allow cars to go inside. I think the new city has been built around, behind this old city. Most of all, when you go through the city--or it is a town, you could say only--you come to the beach; it's not a real beach, it's mostly rocks, but platforms on the rocks so you can lay in the sun there and dive into the ocean. My husband and I, we went every day, swimming to an island; it took about an hour. After we were a week there and swam over every day, then a fisherman came over and said, "Why do you swim always here? Don't you know that there are lots of sharks?" So we said, "Until now the sharks haven't eaten us. So maybe they are not very eager for us." And we continued.

Lacroma, I think, was this island. With some people we also made sometimes a race, who was the first. Of course, I was the first. [laughter]

WESCHLER: And you even beat the sharks.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, the sharks couldn't reach me. I was too fast for them. [laughter]

But we were also on a little island which was called Korčula, before we came to Ragusa, and this was very desolated. No foreigners besides us. I wanted to lie in the sun, to take a sunbath, so I went into a kind of brush-- a large part of the island was just brush. I was lying in the sun under the brush, and all of a sudden a man came. Of course I had my bathrobe with me, and I covered myself; but the man came always nearer, and it was a little uncomfortable. Also I didn't speak Yugoslavian.

WESCHLER: I imagine "no" is the same in every language.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. No. Not in Yugoslavian. "Nyet" is Russian, for instance; so something else is "no." Also "no" or "nyet" wouldn't do very good when somebody is real wild. [laughter] So anyway, I began to shout in German, and I shouted my husband's name, as if he would be there, and I shouted that he should go away and so, but he would not understand it. But it was intimidating to have a foreigner shouting in [her] own language, so he ran away and never came back. In the evenings there was always a promenade

where there was also an old antique wall; on one side were the girls and on the other side the boys. Once when we were with the girls walking, then I saw this man, but he didn't recognize me. [laughter] He was a young boy.

WESCHLER: From the sound of it, your days of extreme poverty are over at this point.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. It was not so bad anymore.

WESCHLER: The books are beginning to bring in an income.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. But it was more later when we were in Berlin, because my husband then had got very good contracts with Ullstein [Verlag], the famous newspaper empire. The director of Ullstein [Emil Hertz] wanted to have my husband as an author. He had Erich Maria Remarque and my husband. So they paid mostly for advance for the Flavius Josephus. And this made us more wealthy. Then, of course, there finally came also, from all the countries of the world, royalties for Jud Süß; and also immediately after Jud Süß, they printed The Ugly Duchess also in the other countries. But the first good-luck streak was Ullstein, who wanted my husband as a house author.

WESCHLER: One last question before we leave Munich--and the tape is about run out. In addition to [his] being a very important author, as I sit in this room I have to say that Lion was a very important bibliophile, a great collector of books. This story will also be the story of that book

collection. What was it like in Munich? Was there much of a book collection?

FEUCHTWANGER: In Munich we had no books at all because we came, as prisoners-of-war from Tunisia, and then immediately my husband had to go into the army. Then came the inflation: we were glad to get enough bread to eat, and we had no money for books. Heinrich Mann always said, "The whole library of Feuchtwanger consists of a paperback, one paperback." He said "reklamheftchen"--that was even worse; it was what ten pfennigs could buy then, in an automat. Mostly they were classics only.

WESCHLER: So there wasn't yet...

FEUCHTWANGER: No. But in Berlin--also not right away, because we had first very great difficulties to get apartments in Berlin. There was a law that nobody could have an apartment who had not permission a long time before. So only newly built houses, or apartments which had been built on top of houses, new apartments on roof of houses, they were [available]--but they were very expensive. Even the most simple apartment was very expensive because there was a great need for it. So we got a little apartment on a roof. First we had only two rooms, and then the owner left us the whole apartment; that was then four rooms. So we didn't have much room for books either there. But then when more money came in, we decided to build a house in

the best part, in the most beautiful part of Berlin, in the Grunewald, which was a forest. Also very near where we had our house, there was a little lake where you could swim in summer and go horseback riding around and also skating in winter. So then I immediately built shelves everywhere, and my husband began to collect books.

WESCHLER: Well, we'll look at Berlin more carefully next time.

TAPE NUMBER: XI, SIDE TWO

JULY 25, 1975

WESCHLER: We are on the cusp between Munich and Berlin. One of the major things about that change was Lion's attending the performance of Edward II in Berlin.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that was before we moved. We were in northern Italy on the Lake of Garda; we were trying to get some rest because my husband was working hard and also we had lots of parties always. People came day and night to our house, and we had to be alone for once. All of a sudden, a telegram came of Jessner, the director-general of the State Theatre: "Please come. We cannot go along with Brecht." (He was there for the performance of Edward II. It was the second performance; the first was in Munich before.) Just that it was impossible like that. "Please come. We need you." We had, of course, to immediately come back from Fasano, on the Gardasee; that was a long trip in those days, only by train.

When my husband arrived in Berlin at the theater, Jessner was already gone. He didn't want to have the whole thing anymore and went to another State Theatre, which was in Wiesbaden, you know, near the Rhine. There was another State Theatre there which belonged together, and so he said he has very important affairs to attend to there and cannot stay

for the rehearsal. So he left an old and very dignified man there, a little "hammy" actor, who was his representative [Karl Kühne]. When my husband came in, this actor was absolutely torn apart from all that had happened, and he said, "Oh, we are so glad that you came. We just cannot handle this Mr. Brecht. It's impossible to speak with him. And the expression he has!" So my husband, before he was in the theater, in the auditorium, he heard already Brecht's voice, "Das ist Scheiss!" which means, "That's shit!" So that was the first thing he heard, and the old actor says, "You see." [laughter] So my husband entered and heard a little bit, and they began again. There was Jürgen Fehling; he was a famous director (his nephew is a doctor here now). He was really a great, a very famous, and a very good director, and he tried to smooth things over. My husband had no time to say "How are you?" because it was such a pressing affair. My husband only said, "Brecht, wouldn't it be better if you said 'It's stylized'?" So now they began again the same scene and Brecht shouted, "It's again stylized!" [laughter] So of course the whole company broke up in laughter. Then what happened: my husband was not long there when Jürgen Fehling went to the rim of the stage and said, "Gentlemen, it is a hard thing for me to do, to speak like this to two of the greatest poets of Germany, but I have to ask you to leave the theater." So they left the

theater. But then Lion said, "I think I should go back-stage and at least say goodbye to the actors who do their best." He also found that Jürgen Fehling hadn't understood the new way of Brecht and Feuchtwanger, what they tried to do. So he went to Werner Krauss, who was a star but in particular the star of this performance, and told him, "I wanted to tell you, before I leave, that there is a Latin proverb which he has to speak in Latin." He said, "The first line is all right, but the second line has another rhythm. Then he spoke the rhythm to him, how he should pronounce the whole verse. And then they left, Lion and Brecht. When they were already on the street, Brecht said, "Why did you tell Werner Krauss the wrong intonation?" And my husband said, "If everything is wrong, the Latin has to be wrong, too." [laughter] They didn't come to the first performance--which was a great scandal, of course, [that] the two authors were not there in the theater. But they were so curious how the thing came out, so they went to the second performance. At the second performance when this part came, this passage with the Latin proverb, both giggled. So a gentleman who was sitting before them turned around and said, "Gentlemen, if you don't understand the play, at least be quiet." [laughter] So much about the performance of Edward II in Berlin.

WESCHLER: Was it as bad as it looked like it was going to be?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was not the play which they had intended to

make. It was the way that all the Shakespeare and all the classics had been played. They made it very well in this old-fashioned kind, but not in the way they wanted to do it. Stylized. [laughter]

WESCHLER: How was it received?

FEUCHTWANGER: The press was very good because it was something new, and Berlin was always very avant-gardish. Of course, there were two kinds of press because they had a fight between each other, the two critics, Alfred Kerr and Jhering. [Whenever] Alfred Kerr knew that Jhering would find it good, he had some very important things to say against it. But everybody knew that it was much more the fight between the two critics than something against the play. But it was never a great success with the public. They had not reached yet this kind of performance or this kind of taste which the two authors [required].

WESCHLER: How did the relationship between Brecht and Jessner develop after that?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, Jessner was a great admirer of Brecht because Brecht was very avant-gardish and he wanted to be very modern. I don't know if this was known everywhere else, but in Germany he was the man who invented the stairs, because he always made stairs on the stage. This was not done before. Maybe one step, or two step, but [he used] whole stairs where people went slowly down and even in the middle

of the stairs sometimes stopped and played there; so it was great excitement. He made also a movie once [Die Flamme] with [Henny] Porten (she was a great movie actress in those days), and there were always the stairs of Jessner. Then later on it has been imitated everywhere in other countries, but he was the first one who made this kind of play with stairs.

WESCHLER: So he and Brecht, notwithstanding their shaky beginning....

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, Brecht was against everybody. He was also against Reinhardt. There was nobody who could do right. The only director who was right for Brecht was Erich Engel. But Erich Engel also prepared everything before with Brecht, so he was so imbued by Brecht that he couldn't do wrong. Also Brecht took over sometimes. But Brecht was always polite with Engel because they were good friends. You wouldn't believe that he could be so rough as he was at this rehearsal. Usually he wasn't like that. He was polite and even rather shy and modest. He looked modest--his dress was always his leather jacket, always the same leather jacket--and he was really absolutely unpretentious. With Erich Engel, he was on very good--they never had any words because they understood each other so well. Erich Engel also made the first performance of The Threepenny Opera. This was so beautiful--or beautiful is not the right word; so new--

that people already applauded when the curtain opened.

Because it was the first time that on top the whole ceiling was open and you could see all the strings coming down.

This played a role also because on those strings were the old clothes which in The Threepenny Opera [belong to] the man who has a business for beggars [Jonathan Peachum]. And all the beggars' clothes--all that hangs down. It was so interesting and so frappant and new that people applauded it already before a word had been spoken.

WESCHLER: What year was that? Was that in the late twenties? Was that soon after Edward II?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't recall exactly but you can find that out. [1928] Yes, everything was soon after because we were only in Berlin from '25 to '32. Everything happened in a very short time.

WESCHLER: Did you know Kurt Weill?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, very well.

WESCHLER: Would you like to talk about him?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but first I think we should speak about what happened after the performance [of Edward II] in Berlin. We lived in the house of my husband's sister because nobody had money and he was a merchant, very rich. He was a sugar broker. He had two big Mercedes Benzes and a chauffeur and all that.

WESCHLER: Who was that now?

FEUCHTWANGER: That was the sister of my husband. His oldest sister [Franziska] was married with this man. They were before in Königsberg--no, in Posen. It was in the east of Germany, and after the First World War it went to Poland. They voted for Germany--they could stay in Poland or go to Germany. And he left his home--they had a big chocolate manufactory there--and he left everything there, except in his double-bottom valise he had some money. And he had to begin again with this. His sons had been persecuted by the Nazis, and all had to flee.

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: [Edward] Diamand. He voted for Germany and left everything there because he felt as a good German. We lived in their apartment. It was not a house; it was a big apartment in a big building. It was very funny because in the morning they had some good things to eat, goose liver paste and things like that, and Brecht never ate those things; he said always, "I haven't seen that before; I wouldn't eat that now." He was very conservative in his taste. I didn't like it so much because everything had too much onion; it was a little bit influenced from Poland, their kitchen. So we were several days there, and we had a very good time because we took big excursions with the car.

Then we left for Rügen, the island of Rügen. It was already very bad, or still very bad with the money there,

with inflation; there was nothing to eat mostly. [My in-laws] always had food because they could afford the black market. But when we were in Rügen, it was again like poor people [laughter] until the money came from the State Theatre, you know, and this was not too much. But it was very cheap there in Rügen; only we had to live with the Fischers; we couldn't stay in a hotel. Also the hotels were not very great shakes there. On the end of the island, it was very wild; there are those white rocks there. They were very high, the rocks above the ocean, the Baltic Sea, and all white, because it was all chalk. It's very interesting, and together with that, those big beaches, those enormous trees with big trunks. Very beautiful is this island, and it was very wild still and very uncivilized. We lived with Fischers. There was nothing else to eat but herring, but it was the most delicious thing. You wouldn't believe how good herring is when it just comes from the ocean. They prepared it every day a different kind; we lived with the Fischers there, and it was fantastic how good everything was. Herring morning, midday, and night, but it was always beautiful, first because we were always hungry and also because it was so good, so fresh. They called it green herring when it was just salted in the moment it came, and then you could eat it raw. The next morning you could eat it already. Any kind of preparation.

Then, the wife of Brecht, Marianne, his first wife-- we were going just from one peasant farm to the other to get some butter or some bread or something like that. We always had to go there to get the other things, except herring. It was very beautiful; it was paradisaical. People were nice when they had something; and when they had nothing, they were also polite. Once, when we went into a big farm and there was an enormous flock of geese, the gander was wild and ran against us with outspread wings, and the other geese-- it was really dangerous. People said that they jump on you and scratch you in the face and all that. Anyway, it was so funny at the same time that I stood there and laughed; I didn't know it was dangerous. Marianne: she was more cautious, she ran away. But I was surrounded by those geese, and I think if the farmer hadn't come out, I don't know what would have happened. Anyway, they didn't even bite me, but it was funny and dangerous (what they said). And we got also some butter. But another time I was bitten by a dog in the leg and that was very sad. It wasn't the leg--the leg would heal by itself--but my stockings were torn, and this was a bad thing because stockings were very rare. But anyway, it was always great fun.

WESCHLER: What season was that?

FEUCHTWANGER: That was summer. We were also swimming, my husband and I. Brecht and his wife didn't swim; it was too

cold for them. We swam and then we also took a boat. Once we went out with the fishermen, but Brecht became very green, and I was almost green; only my husband, he didn't feel seasick. (Marianne didn't come with us.) Only my husband was never seasick. But when I saw Brecht always becoming greener and greener, I said, "I think we should turn back." But I was very glad myself.

Then sometimes on our walks--also Brecht and my husband came with us sometimes--we saw a little man going around. The only sensation of the place was to go to the train every day in the afternoon to see if there was some mail coming. We had never mail coming, but everybody was there, the peasants and just some people who were there for a short time. And also the newspapers came there, and that's why we went--to get the newspapers. There we saw a little man--he was not like a hunchback but almost, he was so bent over--and in every pocket he had a newspaper. He waited for the new newspapers, some more newspapers. Brecht said, "This man overvalues the newspaper like Karl Krauss." Karl Krauss was a great newspaperman, a biting essayist, and a great wit, and also a great writer in Vienna. He had an incessant fight with Jhering, who was for Brecht, so he was against Brecht. Brecht was between the two. So we both laughed about this man who overestimated the newspaper. Brecht had to leave before we left, and we brought

him to the station, and there this man was again. And I asked somebody on the station if they knew who that is, and they said, "Of course. That's Karl Krauss." [laughter] Afterwards Karl Krauss wrote in his periodical which was called Die Fackel (The Torch), he wrote about his sojourn in Rügen, how beautiful that is, and that he always saw Brecht and Feuchtwanger there, and that "I must say their wives are much too good for those two." [laughter] So much about Karl Krauss. But later, Brecht, who didn't read very much usually, read his Fackel periodical and also some of his work that he did, Die letzten Tage der Menschheit, The Last Days of Mankind, and he found this very good. And he asked--I don't know if it was just diplomatic, but he really liked it, he wouldn't have been diplomatic alone--Karl Krauss if he could stage it, because it's a kind of play also. And it was an interesting performance; it had not much echo but it was interesting, some literary sensation. From then on there were only good reviews about Brecht in The Torch.

WESCHLER: So Brecht himself directed or adapted the Krauss...?

FEUCHTWANGER: He directed, maybe also adapted--I haven't seen it. It was in Berlin, and I think also by Reinhardt. Nobody cared much about it; it was just a literary experience. But those who understand something found it very good. It was very funny that Brecht would turn this man all around who

was a terrible tyrant in Vienna.

WESCHLER: Did you have any other relations with Karl Krauss?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, none besides that he thinks I was too good for Lion. [laughter]

WESCHLER: What about Brecht's relation with his first wife?

FEUCHTWANGER: In that time? We begin already to get there....

We went back. That was before we lived in Berlin. We went back to Munich, and then it was pretty soon that Brecht left again for Berlin. Then, when he came back, he came already back with his second wife, but he wasn't married yet. Marianne wanted to divorce him. I spoke with her. (Usually I didn't mingle in those things; I think people should make that out themselves.) But I told her once, I said, "I know how difficult it is with Brecht for you, to see all his affairs with other women and so, but you have to think that he is a genius." Then she said, "I'm sick and tired of genius. I want a man who loves me." And then she divorced him. She is still alive; she married a very good actor, [Theo] Linggen, and lives with him in Vienna. He is also a good movie actor. The daughter of her and Brecht was in the play Mother Courage; she played the mute daughter Kattrin. Her name is Hiob. She had an enormous success and still is known as a very good actress. Sometimes I hear about her.

WESCHLER: Where is she?

FEUCHTWANGER: In Germany. But, you know, those actresses are usually not in one place; they play in different theaters.

WESCHLER: Well, so you went from there back to....

FEUCHTWANGER: We went back to Munich, and then we decided also because Brecht all the time wrote, "You have to leave Munich. It has become a provincial town...." Because nobody dared to do anything; we were all afraid of the Nazis. Also we were persecuted by the Nazis--I think I told you about the taxes or so, yes, and how Bruno Walter had to leave because they threw rotten eggs on the stage. So we finally decided also to go to Berlin, and that was the end of our stay in Munich. I went sometimes back, only to stay overnight when I went skiing. I couldn't go directly to the mountains; I had to stay overnight there. Then I visited my husband's brother Ludwig and his new wife (he was also divorced in the meantime) and also Bruno Frank and his wife.

WESCHLER: Well, let's start talking about Berlin. You had mentioned briefly what your house in Berlin was like. Where was it?

FEUCHTWANGER: At first, we had no house. It was only a built up on the roof; there was a little apartment built there [at Fehrbelliner Platz]. That was the only possibility

to live there, because you had to have permission and a kind of document, a license, that you can have an apartment. And we--that was too short a time. Those who were born in Berlin or lived all of the time in Berlin came first, and we were just newcomers. So we had no choice but.... It was very expensive, more expensive than any luxury apartment because it has been built up new and they took advantage of that. But we were rather happy there. We then made a big trip from there to Paris and Spain. I remember that Brecht came to the station to say goodbye, and he was very sad that we were leaving because he had so many plans to work with Lion. It was also a little bit on account of that that Lion wanted to go away, because he wanted to work for himself. Also, I brought him off the theater; I didn't think that his kind of theater was too interesting. For me, it was too conventional, his theater. When I saw those new things happening, I thought that Lion is not made for theater because I said I think his talent is the novel.

So this apartment was very high up, and we had a big view over the suburbs. Also, directly underneath were tennis courts and the crematorium. It was directly underneath. Directly underneath on the same street across were the tennis courts, and behind the tennis courts was the crematorium. You could see always the steam or the smoke coming out from when they just burned somebody.

WESCHLER: Where was this located, by the way? Which part of town?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was in the west, not far from where we later built a house in the Grunewald, which was the best, the most elegant, and also the most beautiful suburb. It was all forest and lakes there. But we liked it very much so high up; we could see so far.

And then all of a sudden there came people from England. It was because my husband began to become famous in England, and there came the newspapermen there. It was something that was not heard of before, that somebody comes from England, from the London Times and the daily News, and whatever they called it, to interview somebody [in Germany]. It was the first, because the English were still--although it was already 1925-26--angry with Germany from the war. That was the first. Also I think my husband was one of the first who has been printed abroad. When they came there, they were very astonished that we lived in this little bird dwelling [laughter] on the roof. They took photos, some of which I still have; by chance they were saved. Big photos which were then published in England.

But then was another event. Then came from Russia people, also newspaper people: one was a famous writer from Russia. [Konstantin Aleksandrovich] Fedin was his name; he's a famous writer. He was very aristocratic looking

and very reserved, blond and blue-eyed and tall and pale. He spoke German, and they had also planned to translate something together, but my husband couldn't get very warm with him, maybe because both were shy. When he had left, my husband said, "I think he doesn't like me." But then we read in the newspaper that he spoke glowingly about my husband, his personality, about his visit and about his work. So you can wirklich make mistakes.

I had a little Fiat; that was my first car. I had the little Fiat, and I brought the newspapermen to the radio station, which was a tower, a big tower, like the Eiffel Tower a little bit. I thought they would like that, but they got so dizzy.... I was used from skiing to go on the high mountains, but I found out it wasn't a very good idea to bring them there. I almost lost their sympathy.

But then we went back down, and it was interesting because there was an exhibition of very modern architects. [Walter] Gropius, and all those, and [Ludwig] Miës van der Rohe--all the modern architects had a big exhibition there. And for the first time I saw something like television there. The director of this exhibition [Dr. (?) Michel] was known to us by our sport coach. We did all kinds: I did acrobatics and things like that; my husband did calisthenics; and also we made jogging around and things like that. He was also the coach of this director. The

director had a very beautiful house in the middle of Berlin, with a lake and a beautiful park. We were invited there; they usually didn't invite anybody there, but that was all the coach who made this connection. And then he showed me something which nobody had seen at this exhibition: he showed me television, the first television. I didn't know what it was. I just absolutely couldn't understand it: I was standing before a little case, and it looked like a mirror first. And then, all of a sudden, I saw people moving there, and these were the people who were outside of the building. It was not the real television yet, but it was the beginning. Inside, in the building, I saw people who were outside.

WESCHLER: There weren't any commercials yet. [laughter]

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was an absolutely new invention. It was absolutely new, and only very select people were allowed to see it in a little room. I don't know why it was hidden. Maybe they were afraid that somebody could imitate it, steal the invention.

Miës van der Rohe was the other architect, and [Laszlo] Moholy-Nagy (he was also a famous painter)--those had a big exhibition there. I was always for the new things and was interested, and so I thought I should show it to the Russians. But they didn't understand it. They couldn't understand that somebody could be interested in this kind of

building. But they were very nice, and we heard that they wrote also very nice about us; but since we couldn't read Russian, we didn't know it. Only about Fedin we had somebody translate it for us.

WESCHLER: Were there many Russians in Berlin at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no. Never. [And that was also] the only visit from England. English people didn't go to Germany; they still hated Germany from the First World War (which ended in 1918, and this was not even ten years after). There was still a great hate for the destruction with the Big Bertha.

WESCHLER: The attacks on London.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. My husband was the first one who had been translated abroad--in fact, the very first one, right after the war in France. I think I told you about that, his prisoner-of-war play [Die Kriegsgefangenen], which was then translated and published in a newspaper. But this was something else; it was the big success of a novelist then. That they came was really something. It was also in the newspapers; usually they didn't bring just those personal things in the news in Germany.

WESCHLER: What were some of the things that he was working on at that time in the early days in Berlin?

FEUCHTWANGER: Most of the time he wrote Success.

WESCHLER: Already at that time, very early on...?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. That was the only thing he did really, except the play with Brecht together, Kalkutta, 4. Mai, and another play alone, Wird Hill Amnestiert? (Will Hill Be Amnestied?) which had been performed at the State Theatre, just before Hitler. And then it was Success; I think he wrote more than three years on Success. We came in '25 and he finished it in '28, and then it had to be printed. So it was most of the time, and when I was skiing in the Alps, then he sent me the proofs to correct.

WESCHLER: You might tell that story on tape.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. When I was skiing, we usually were in a group and had a guide or a teacher. We made big tours on the high mountains.

WESCHLER: Did Lion ski as well as you?

FEUCHTWANGER: He had tried. When I began, we went together-- it was during the war--to Austria, which was our ally. Here there was this famous man, Hannes Schneider, who was at first only a porter who brought the water to the ski huts and also the wood to make a fire, because it was high above the trees, in the snow where no trees were growing. He was discovered by the brother-in-law of Sigmund Freud, because he saw him skiing. Skiing was very new. It was done only in Sweden first, but only to go from one place to the other. In Sweden there are no high mountains, so it was only long cross-country. This was like in a car or something; it was

faster going, faster than walking. In Switzerland, those people who were guides for the mountains in summer, they did some skiing, but they just went down skiing; and they usually fell down. There was no method or so: very fast go, and then falling. And this young peasant was a man who was thinking. Mr. Bernays--that was the brother-in-law of Sigmund Freud,* he was an American; he came there only for the beauty of the winter landscape--he was interested in him and told him to develop what he did for skiing. So he developed a method that you don't have to fall: you can ski whole mountains without falling a single time. Even very daring descents or so. It was called the Hannes Schneider method.

We went to Sankt Anton, where he lived, and he was our teacher there. But there was no snow. Although it was January, there was almost no snow, only one meadow, a steep meadow, where the snow was ice. There we began to ski, and Hannes Schneider was there to supervise--he had also teachers--and he said, "I cannot teach skiing. Skiing is not skating, and we cannot ski on ice." But still he wanted to show us a little bit the method. And I did it all right. But my husband--the first time he wanted to go down, he fell. The ice was interrupted by a stone; he fell and hurt himself very badly on his backbone. Immediately he got up and didn't tell right away that it hurt very much, *Walter Bernays was in fact a third cousin of Freud's wife, not her brother.

but then we found out he had to give up for the time being at least. So he never went back to skiing, because he had also his work to do. He didn't want to interrupt something for something he couldn't do very well. I also think it was because in sports he was more enduring than skillful.

WESCHLER: You often went on these ski trips?

FEUCHTWANGER: I went every year. That was always my birthday present, that I could go skiing.

WESCHLER: You always went by yourself?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I went by myself. I wasn't long by myself there. But Hannes Schneider was very nice to my husband, and he told him that he shouldn't try to ski anymore because it could get worse. He should try to cure that out. He was a great admirer of my husband because he read The Ugly Duchess. It [takes place in] Tyrol, you know, his nearest homeland, and he knew the novel and was a great admirer of my husband.

Later on, Hannes Schneider, who was very tall and good looking--he looked like a Gothic saint from a church, brown and tall, and the ladies ran after him (that was always the case with ski teachers, but especially him), especially and mostly aristocratic ladies and so. He always tried a little bit to begin to flirt with me, but I didn't like to flirt with a man of whom I knew that he was married. He had a very nice wife.

WESCHLER: You only liked to flirt with those who you knew weren't married.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. I didn't want to disturb things like that; it wasn't worthwhile. It was very funny: it was a kind of friendship, and also sometimes irritating him, the friendship. Then he had a terrible accident: he fell down, also because it was so icy. He was bringing some water up to the ski hut. With a very rich American he went there. He had this thing on his back instead of a backpack, and it was copper and very difficult to transport over the narrow, very narrow trail. On the other side there was a little river, which was usually frozen in winter, but it was running a little bit. It was very high, a kind of canyon, a tall canyon, a very big canyon. I was on the other side, going to another ski hut with friends. We made fun. (There were no ski lifts; you had to walk everywhere.) And he said he recognized my laughing and at that moment he fell, way down into the abyss. Maybe it was that his attention was taken away from this dangerous path because he heard me laughing. Anyway he told me that afterwards. He broke his thigh, which was very bad in those days, and bad for a skier because usually when somebody broke a thigh the leg was always shorter then. I went back home from there, I went to Innsbruck--that was the next town where he was in the hospital--and I visited him. For him it was

a great thing that I came there; he never forgot that. Because it was not for flirting; it was just for friendship. Then he told me that he was near death several days before because he had an embolism in his lung from this fall; It was a compound fracture, and he had an embolism in his lung. And just by chance--he was already given up--he vomited the whole thing, a kind of bleeding of the lung which could be very dangerous; but in this case it saved him because the embolism came out, this piece of dried blood which was in his lung, and so he was saved. We saw each other every year, and always there was a kind of irritation that he couldn't get what he wanted. But on the other side he was very grateful; he never forgot that I visited him when he was sick.

WESCHLER: Meanwhile you were going to tell a story about the galley proofs of Success.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. Once it already had been printed, in '28 or so, there were the galley proofs of Success. And the secretary, who should do it, she just couldn't do it; she was not up to it. So my husband was very desperate because he wanted to write something else; he wrote some essays in those days, and he wanted not to be bothered with the proofs. But the secretary was not used to those things and he finally told her, "Send it to Marta at Sankt Anton." So every night after skiing and after we had dinner--I had

dinner with the others--I went to my room and read the proofs. I wanted to do it right, so I couldn't go dancing like the others, and I got the worst reputation because they thought always I had a lover with me. I couldn't get that out of them. They never would have believed it. And Hannes Schneider was very upset; he didn't even look at me anymore. [laughter]

WESCHLER: I suppose we should go back to Berlin a little bit more and talk about your life in those very early days in Berlin. I had asked you about Kurt Weill. Maybe you could tell us a little bit more about him.

FEUCHTWANGER: Kurt Weill was a very young man still and he wasn't married yet, but he knew already Lotte Lenya. Also Brecht knew Lotte Lenya, and when my husband's play The Oil Islands was played at the State Theatre, Brecht and also Weill insisted that my husband would let her play in this first performance. It would be a great chance for her; she was a dancer before. My husband said, "Yes, it's all right." The ugly woman then was [played by] Maria Koppenhöfer; that I insisted because she was still young. There was a very famous, more famous, actress who wanted to play the part; her name was Lucie Höflich and I admired her very much. But I thought we should give a chance to a young actress, and I insisted that the part be given to Maria Koppenhöfer. The other should be a very beautiful girl, very exotic looking, and my husband said, "It's all right,

but she is not a beauty and that is necessary."

WESCHLER: Lotte Lenya.

FEUCHTWANGER: Lotte Lenya. But Brecht insisted that that's just it: she has to be sexy but not so beautiful. So my husband gave in. And she was really very good. Kurt Weill wrote the incidental music for it. And also she sang some songs.

WESCHLER: This was before she was famous.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, immediately she became famous then. Not after this play, but after The Threepenny Opera.

WESCHLER: This was before The Threepenny Opera?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was before. Then Brecht and Weill-- Hanns Eisler, I think, composed also something. Was it Hanns Eisler who composed then Kalkutta, 4. Mai? But there is a song which Sybille Binder, who played the wife of Warren Hastings, sings to the guitar; she sang "Surabaya Jhonny," this famous ballad which Weill composed; she sang that in Kalkutta, 4. Mai. So there was always an interplay between the four, I would say--Brecht and Eisler and Weill and Feuchtwanger.

WESCHLER: Well, let me turn this tape over.

FEUCHTWANGER: But with Eisler, I'm not so sure. I will have to find out if Eisler was involved. I don't know if Eisler made the music; I think it was always Weill.

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JULY 25, 1975

WESCHLER: We're talking about the plays. We've just been saying that in addition to working on Success in those early days in Berlin, Lion was also returning in a rather large degree to the medium of drama.

FEUCHTWANGER: Not much--he had only two. One was a rework, a new adaptation with Brecht, of his Warren Hastings, which was then called Kalkutta, 4. Mai. Jessner was very much interested in it.

WESCHLER: How did that come about? Whose idea was that?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, Brecht, of course. Brecht said always "I think it's a pity that it isn't played anymore; it should be played again. It is such a real theater play. It's real theater." So then my husband: "Oh, I have forgotten about that; I don't want to be reminded." But Brecht didn't let him alone.

And Lion wrote another play which I thought was very nice, and it has also been played; that was Wird Hill Amnestiert? (Will Hill be Given Amnesty?).

WESCHLER: What was that?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was a comedy. It was played at the State Theatre, and I liked it very much, but it was not a great success. It was already near to the Hitler movement. So

people were not so much for theater. People were--it was unruly already. I had it translated into English. I think if that would be--it has to be adapted for the time now, because something about America or England or so is not actual anymore. But I think it is very funny.

WESCHLER: What is the theme of the play?

FEUCHTWANGER: The theme is very simple: a man became famous, a young Englishman, because he was victorious in a battle in India, I think. (I have to read it again.) He was victorious and did this against the will of those above him, his superiors. But he became famous on account of this battle. Then he had to go to jail, I think maybe it was because he did it against his superiors. It was a little bit like in Success. There was a woman who wanted to free him. Finally he comes free, and then he comes back and tells her that he was innocent because he didn't do the battle. He was not even victorious; it was just a legend. Then she is, of course, very upset about the whole thing; she said, "Now I have went through so many things"--she even slept with people, just to free him. She wanted to make him a scene, but he was so tired, he just [fell] asleep. She stands there, full of love, because when she sees him asleep it comes back, the tenderness. That's the end of it. But as much as I remember, it is a very good plot.

WESCHLER: So that was your favorite of those plays.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was the only thing I really liked because I found it so new. I liked some scenes also in the other plays. I must say I liked the old Warren Hastings much better than I liked Kalkutta, 4. Mai with Brecht, because Brecht in those days he was impressed with the so-called "happy end." He wrote a play Happy End, you remember, and also Threepenny Opera has a happy end, very much a happy end, almost a caricature of a happy end. He made also this play Warren Hastings a happy end, but my husband had made it that the wife has to leave because the governor couldn't be governor and be her husband [at the same time], because she did something which was against his honor. And when he sits alone, when she has left, he has a great economical success, which was most important, because his enemies came from the Parliament to prove that he was a bad administrator. Also there were many cruelties which he did, what in those days was absolutely natural, you know, the colonists; but he said, "I had to do it because they always ask that I send more money." He said there was always the dilemma either to be humane or to send money. Anyway, when the ship with which his wife has to leave and go back to England [is about to depart], he said, "When I can leave here, I hope you can wait for me in England." That was the last word. Then he sits alone at his desk and says, "The

same ship, the same ship." Because the same ship which brings his wife to England also brings his economical success, a big sum which came out of his administration. He says, "The same ship, the same ship." That's the end. It's very sentimental, but it's fantastic. I think it's a great end. In this way I, even, can defend sentimentality.

WESCHLER: That was the end of which play?

FEUCHTWANGER: That was the end of Warren Hastings. And the end of Kalkutta, 4. Mai was my end, in a way. I told you once that when they didn't find out--Brecht wanted to have a happy ending. The Indian adversary of Hastings, who had almost brought his downfall in Warren Hastings, he has to be alleged that he had committed a crime. He was a maharaja, a very big and rich man, and [they needed] a very small little crime which would dishonor him. So the two were sitting there--we were still in this apartment high up on the roof. I came just from the market, and I told you when my housekeeper said she was so glad that I came back finally.

WESCHLER: Right, because they had been fighting so much.

FEUCHTWANGER: She heard them fighting, and said, "Oh, I am so glad that you came home. Mr. Brecht has just killed the poor doctor." I said, "But why do you think that?" She said, "You know, I heard them fight, and then all of a sudden I just heard the voice of Mr. Brecht--"

no Dr. Feuchtwanger." So I went in and they were sitting there and laughing--because the fight was never personal; it was just discussion. And Brecht had a loud voice, and my husband had a low voice. So they were just laughing because they had ended their fight. Then Brecht asked me, "Maybe you have an idea, a brainstorm. We cannot advance. We are stuck." Then they asked me what they should do, because she accepted, the wife--that was the fault, that's why she had to leave in Hastings--a beautiful jewelry from one of the tribes. And then it has been said that this tribe was not destroyed but another tribe, which was revolting. That came up from his enemies from England who came there from the Parliament; they said that it was the end of him when this came out, that his wife took the jewelry. But he didn't know about it: she did it clandestinely. She had a very bad conscience also. So they said, "What can we do?" And I said, "It's very simple. She should just say that she did it to give it to the poor. She took the jewels because there was so much famine and she wanted to help the poor. It was the only means--she had not the money--to take it from the one to give to the other." And they accepted that. Then Brecht said, "You know this idea is worth \$500." Or \$450, I think he said. And we laughed. But every time he saw me he said, "Did your husband give you the \$450 yet?" [laughter]

WESCHLER: So they collaborated on that?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, and then it was the happy end, because Marianne could stay and he could send the money to England.

WESCHLER: So, although it was your ending, you disapproved of having a happy ending.

FEUCHTWANGER: I disapproved. I thought the first version was much better.

WESCHLER: But you were a party to the destruction of the first version.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it's true. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Perhaps you would like to talk about your [1926] trip to France and Spain.

FEUCHTWANGER: We left Berlin for a big trip. We always made long trips. We never left for a short time. We wanted to stay and know the country and not go back immediately. Brecht came with his wife to the station; I remember they called the station the Zoo Station because the zoo was very near. He was very sad that we left.

Then we went direct to Paris. And in Paris it was enormously cheap because there was then the French inflation. It has been said that it was made by two brothers who speculated on the French franc and made enormous money with that. My husband always had the intention to write a novel about the brothers Fry, who made that. But finally he had no interest anymore. But in those days, when he

saw the inflation in Paris, it was very much in his thoughts. The most impressive thing was that we went to see the Mistinguett and....

WESCHLER: Was this your first time in Paris?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, the first time. And that was the Folies-Bergere. This was the original Folies-Bergere, and there was--who is this singer who sings, "Vive la Difference"?

WESCHLER: Je ne sais pas.

FEUCHTWANGER: [laughter] He was here then a star--Maurice Chevalier. That was his first appearance, the first appearance of Maurice Chevalier with his little straw hat and his cane; and Mistinguett, she was a famous singer in those times. La Mistinguett--that was all of what was famed in France there. She had also a big estate in the south of France where we later lived. In the Folies-Bergere, it was the first time I saw something like that; it was called "variety" in those days. Both were singing together, and it was a sensation, the first time that he came on the stage. She was already known, but he was absolutely new. From then on, they always went together, their numbers were together.

WESCHLER: Did you have a feeling from the very start that he would be...?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, we could see that. It was something

which I never dreamed of, it was so sensational--the performance of those two. And I forgot everything else what happened. Also it was too much. I always said half would be more, because one destroyed the impression of the other. With my German provincial mind, I couldn't follow this quick French wit. Then when we came out--this was also when we arrived there--we took a taxi from the hotel, and it was so terrible when we saw those old elegant gentlemen opening the doors of the taxi; they were very old families, aristocrats who lost all their money in the inflation, and the only thing was to take a tip from the foreigners when they opened the door of the taxi. The whole thing was not fun anymore for me, that it was so cheap, that you could buy everything--I bought dresses and so--because of this impression I had from this terrible downfall of rich people.

WESCHLER: Do you have any other memories of Paris?

FEUCHTWANGER: Of course. We saw everything, the Luxembourg [Gardens]....

WESCHLER: This is also Lion's first trip?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, we were only in France before from Switzerland when we went from Lausanne. You could cross the Lake Geneva; there was a spa, Evian-les-Bains, that was the only French town we knew, on the French border. We were not in France before.

This is also important because in the Louvre we saw Goya for the first time, his etchings which made so much impression on my husband. And then when we were in Spain, in Madrid, in the Prado, we saw all his etchings, even more than his paintings. In the Prado all his great paintings are there, the most famous paintings, the Maja and the Maja Desnuda. But what was most impressing for us two were the etchings Desastres de la guerra (Disasters of the War) and those grotesque [Caprichos].

WESCHLER: Had Lion been impressed by Goya before, or had he even encountered him?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he only knew his name. He hasn't even seen any reproductions. What he knew about Goya was only because in Munich a director of the museum who was a friend of ours was in Spain very much. Every year he went to Spain because he had to do it for the museum, buying the paintings and so; and when he came back, he usually made a lecture about the paintings. I remember that the father-in-law of Thomas Mann, Professor [Alfred] Pringsheim, called this man who was our friend--August L. Meyer was his name--"the Gohameyer" because he pronounced Goya always like Goha. He was then in jail, this August L. Meyer, because that was already the beginning of the Hitler movement, the harassing of the intellectuals. Somebody who wanted his position in the museum denounced

him as being bribed by, I think, in Spain that he had made an expertise, they called it, which was not honest. Anyway he was in jail, and this was the [model for the character of Dr. Martin] Krüger afterwards, you know, in Success; it was the impersonation of him.

WESCHLER: Right. The characterization was based on him.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Of course it was another person because Mr. Meyer was very small and very quick and Krüger was a good-looking man. Around him is the whole Success. "The man Krüger," he is always called in Success. That's why I wanted to mention it, because he always spoke about Goya and professor Pringsheim called him Gohameyer. [laughter]

Then we made excursions also from Paris in the neighborhood and environs. We saw many churches--Notre Dame de Paris, of course--and all the galleries which you could imagine.

Then we went on to Spain. We wanted also to go to Spain to swim in the ocean. It has the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Ocean. And it was very difficult. First we went to Hendaye, which was still France. That's one of the most beautiful beaches of the world. Very high waves, but very slow and even, so it's easy to swim there. You can swim underneath; it's never rough, so it never drags you like here. There's no backdrag or so. The next beach which is almost the neighbor of this beach

is already in Spain. We then were in Biarritz, and it was most beautiful, too. My husband saved an English lady from drowning, because she was not up to those high waves. She began to shout and cry--she was already underwater when my husband swam fast and brought her back.

Then we met there Arnolt Bronnen by chance, and another man who also lives here, still lives here--the nephew of the famous director in Berlin, Brahm. Otto Brahm was his name, and his nephew was Hans Brahm, and he was here a famous movie director. He is old now. He had great successes with the movies. One was about a madonna, Our Lady of Spain or something: children think they see the Lady in the clouds. It was a big miracle picture which was very famous in those days [The Miracle of Our Lady of Fatima].

WESCHLER: So you met him there....

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, we met both of them. Arnolt Bronnen was our friend and also a friend of Brecht. He was older than Brecht and had a big success with Vatermord, which means The Assassination of the Father. The son who murders his father. That was the beginning of the new direction of plays. It's called the Neue Sachlichkeit, "the new facts," in a way. Jhering, the critic, always used this expression die neue Sachlichkeit, "the new facts."

WESCHLER: What was he like?

FEUCHTWANGER: Bronnen was in Munich several times; he lived [there] for a while. Also he came to the premiere of Edward II; you remember when I told you that Caspar Neher, who was drunk, wanted to break his cranium because he thought that Bronnen had said something against Brecht. You remember, I threw myself between them?

WESCHLER: Right, right.

FEUCHTWANGER: That was in our house, our apartment. And then the whole wine came into my décolleté. [laughter] Nobody would have dared to go against Caspar Neher, who was such a giant, but I didn't know what to do, and I just jumped up and turned his nose around and took him off the direction of Bronnen, at least. And this was Bronnen.

Also it was very difficult to get to the market. It was not very near the markets, where we lived in Munich. My help, she always asked me to use her bicycle. We couldn't afford a bicycle, but she always went to the farmers on Sunday and brought some food back--eggs and butter. So she made more money than she made in my house, of course. She lent me her bicycle, but I had never used a bicycle before. Bronnen said, "But that's easy. I help you." So Bronnen, who was very elegant and had a monocle--he was blond, and had blue eyes and looked very good and was a great friend of the ladies--he ran beside me on the bicycle through the Georgestrasse, where we lived, and taught

me bicycling. All of a sudden, a little boy ran before me, so I jumped off the bicycle, and Bronnen had the bicycle in his hand (I was on the other side). You know, if somebody would have seen it, Bronnen, who in Berlin was a friend of the great film actress [Lya de Putti]--he also was working for the UFA, the famous UFA [Universum-Film Aktien-Gesellschaft]--to see him running beside me would have been very funny. We met him there in France. My husband liked to go sometimes into the casino, but he didn't play anymore like he did in Monte Carlo. Bronnen and also Hans Brahm went with him sometimes. I was playing tennis. There was nobody who played tennis there. The tennis courts were very far from Biarritz, and I had to go with the tram. There was only a teacher there who was a kind of a coach; he was a college teacher during the year, but to make some money, he was a coach for tennis. I played with him, and of course it was wonderful. He was glad to have somebody to teach because he had no other students. He taught me also the new service. Until then, ladies always served from below, and he taught me the new service. It was very exciting. With a good teacher and a good player, you play better usually. Then Bronnen said, "Oh, I would like to play also. I used to play in Vienna." So I took him with me, and we played together. He was always for violence--he was very violent. I told you that he was prisoner of war

in Italy, and he was so full of hate always. During the First World War, he was a prisoner of war in Italy. He was also wounded in his neck, and he had a raw, raspy voice. For the women, it was very seductive, but it came only from this wounding. He wanted always to play, to show me his manhood, to play like a real man. He threw the ball and hit the ball, and always it went into the net. You have to think when you play tennis; it's not just playing. But he said, "I cannot play with you. You want always to win." Then this professor, the coach, saw us playing, and afterwards he came up and told me, "You must not play with Mr. Brunere"--he called him that always--"He's spoiling your style. It's very bad for you." I said, "I don't care much for style. I just play for fun. And he is a friend of ours." So I let him win sometimes.

WESCHLER: Whenever he was able to get it over the net, he was able to win. [laughter]

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. No--I threw my balls also in the net, so finally one more and he had won. [laughter] I just wanted to have fun. It's ridiculous to have to win all the time.

WESCHLER: Well, then you went on from there to Spain.

FEUCHTWANGER: From there we went to St. Jean-de-Luz on the border. And from there we went to Spain; that was the Basque country. It was very beautiful there. It was

much less mondaine than Biarritz, which was very great fashion (all the rich people came there from America, from everywhere). Hendaye was the same landscape, only it was absolutely natural. We went into the inland to see the Basque people in the mountains and their dances and so. It was absolutely unspoiled.

No--it was not like that: first from Paris we went to Madrid, and then we saw Madrid for a while. This was where we saw the Goya Caprichos and also what was very funny, the Alhambra, the big castle in Madrid. No--in Madrid is the Prado but this was in Granada. From Madrid we went to Granada and saw the Alhambra, the big castle. And this castle in a way was beautiful because it didn't look like a castle; it looked more like a fortress. Also this Granada, like Madrid, is in the middle of a kind of desert. In the winter it is green, everything, and in summer it is absolutely burned down. And in the middle of this dry country there is something which is fantastic--it looks like a miracle: all is green, lush green, with lots of water coming down in little rivulets and rivers. This is the hill of the Alhambra. This has been made by the Arabs. It was the great service which the Arabs did for Spain to find those fountains by digging in the earth. They were great specialists for finding water and bringing it up.

WESCHLER: Of necessity. They had to be, coming from where

they did.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, but this was absolutely their speciality, also mathematics was their speciality and algebra and also the stars, astronomy. And this hill was just like a miracle in this dried-out country; all is lush and green, the bushes and trees. Before you come to the castle, it is already beautiful. You walk up. And then there was a little court before you went into the castle, and we were sitting there.... After we had seen the castle, there was a great disappointment inside. Because from outside it looked so big; it is in the form of the mountain. It is not a straight building, as you think is the Louvre or so, but it goes up and down like the mountain; it follows the line of the mountain. And this is so beautiful. And between there are all towers. But inside, when you first come inside, it's very disappointing, because I found the style--they call it the "horse iron" style: the arches are in the form of horse hoofs.

WESCHLER: Horseshoe.

FEUCHTWANGER: Horseshoe--that is the style of the arches of the Arabs. And this was very disappointing. It didn't look great like the Greek or Roman style or also the Gothic style with the columns; it was too coquette in a way. Too much filigree: you looked through everything. I liked the serious architecture. Then the first thing when you come

there is the famous court of the lions, yard of the lions. I saw always pictures and photos before about the big lions who were sitting there--half-sitting with their forelegs straight. I thought they would be enormous lions, with a big fountain. But they were very tiny lions.

WESCHLER: Little cats.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. Not so little, but still the whole thing lacked a grandeur, you know, a greatness. It was a real disappointment. Then, when we went through, we finally found one big court which was called the Myrtle Court. This is a big basin, almost like a swimming pool. But it was not a swimming pool; it was a real basin where there were flowers inside, water lilies or so. The proportion of this basin was so beautiful. It's a little bit like here also, the [J. Paul] Getty Museum, but much bigger. Only walls around, not so many little thin columns as in the other courtyard, always two columns because one was too little so they had to have always two small, thin columns. These were straight walls with these big long beautiful dimensions--proportions. And there, for the first time, I was happy with the Alhambra.

Also from outside. We became tired from going around so much, so we went outside. At the entrance there was a place where you could sit on benches, and there were big white pigeons. And then I saw the funniest thing I ever

saw. There was a male pigeon, who was not like you think--the very soft and kind pigeon, the bird of love, almost. This male pigeon always persecuted the female pigeons, picked on them and even sometimes came blood out of them. He ran after them, and the poor female pigeons, instead of flying away, were always running away, with the male pigeon following. It was very cruel. I never can separate Alhambra from this pigeon. I never thought that pigeons can be so awful. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Did you go to Toledo also?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course, we were in Toledo, and this was also a kind of inspiration for my husband for The Jewess of Toledo. It's very beautiful, Toledo. Also there were very few foreigners there; maybe it was not the season. We could really see.

Also in Granada we went on another hill, across from the Alhambra. There was a hill, and when you went up--it was a kind of road--there were little houses on one side, and on the other side was a big abyss. Very white. And you could see into the houses: little rooms; usually the only thing that you saw was a Singer sewing machine. It was the only thing what reminded you of civilization. There were no cars, nothing else. An enormous amount of children. The children surrounded you and shouted until your ears hurt; they were beggars, just begging. You couldn't get

rid of them; you couldn't even advance because they were all around you. I was chasing them away because we wanted to go farther. We gave them some little money, and we wanted to go farther. It was impossible; they were always around our feet. When I chased them away, a woman came out from one of the houses and cursed me. Terrible cursing. We knew a little Spanish: we always tried to learn the language before we went into another country; mostly we forgot it pretty soon. But we understood what she said, and it was just terrible. We found out that those were Gypsies, and they were known as putting curses on you.

WESCHLER: Hexes.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Also we were afraid to get fleas from the children. In those climates, there were lots of fleas; the grownups much less, but the children had the fleas. Also lice sometimes. But the houses were very clean. All was whitewashed--that was the law, to keep it clean--but the children looked, of course, like beggars. So we were afraid to get fleas and lice from them.

WESCHLER: Clearly Lion was very much impressed by Spain: he was going to make Spain the locale for many works.

FEUCHTWANGER: Very much. Also the population, the people, although not the higher-ups. We didn't know many of them, but we saw them in Biarritz, at the casino, playing, and we got a bad impression from them. They were very greedy

and very unpolite. Some people are polite when they go on a trip, and some people are just the contrary. For instance, the English are much nicer when they go on trips. But they are very reluctant usually to make friends in their own country. When you know them, then they are very nice. But in other countries they are very polite. And the Spaniards are just the opposite. They behaved terribly in the casino; they took sometimes the money which somebody else won--they took it themselves--and they were very hated in the casino by the French. They were mostly people who had lots of money. They could be also a kind of Mafioso or something like that. They were just there to make money in the casino.

WESCHLER: This was in the days before the Spanish Republic, wasn't it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not only in the days, it was--yes, it was before the Republic. There was still the king there. It was during the days of the war in North Africa, with Morocco, I think. Abd-el-Krim was the enemy. He was the leader of the Africans. They were such good soldiers, those Africans, that the Spanish people couldn't defeat them; they had to have the help of the French. With the help of the French, they could finally defeat Abd-el-Krim. They had also the Berbers, who were still a very savage tribe in the mountains. They were the big soldiers there. And we were just in the south of Spain, in a little town,

when the war was over. Abd-el-Krim surrendered--not to the Spanish but to the French. He had no respect of the Spanish soldiers, or the military, but he respected the French. It was very funny. We were in a little hotel which was called the Alfonso Trese (Alfonso XIII was the king then). There were two big tables; one big table was for the French, and the other table was for the Spanish, and they didn't speak to each other, the two victorious people. So that was the end of this war in Africa.

WESCHLER: Was there a sense while you were there that the Republic was about to be founded?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not at all. It was just that the military was not very well developed. The army was known as very bad. Probably the soldiers didn't want to fight because they were not liberated; they were almost treated like serfs in those days. That's probably why they were bad soldiers, because when they fought against [Francisco] Franco, they were very good soldiers. So it was not the people: it was just that they didn't want to go to war. for the king. And this maybe was a kind of sign that the king was not popular. I remember when the king married, he married an English princess, [Victoria Eugenie of] Battenberg, and he came to Munich. I was still a child when I saw the wedding train. I think they were married there. I saw them sitting in a carriage, Alfonso XIII and his wife,

the English princess.

WESCHLER: Do you have any other memories of your trip in Spain?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I have one memory because I wanted to swim in the ocean. And we couldn't. Nobody was allowed to swim there.

WESCHLER: Why?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was too Catholic. And as we usually had from our trip when we made the hike through Italy, we had our swimsuits under our clothes. We wanted to swim when we made all these walks all through Spain.

We went up to Ronda, where the famous toros, the bullfights, were in the middle of Spain in a little town. There was not--we didn't see a fight; we saw a fight in Madrid. But it was interesting to see the young toros being trained for the fight. Also the children on the streets in Ronda, they always were [dressed up] as toreros. One was the torero and the other was the toro. And on the streets they made street fights. This was very interesting because no foreigners ever came there.

Then we went also on the south coast, what is called the Golden Coast. We were just prepared to go into the ocean when then came a priest by. He stood there and looked and looked, and we didn't dare to swim, not to hurt his feelings, his Catholic feelings. So we finally came

to Málaga, this town where they make this famous wine, and we asked where we could swim, where there would be at least some huts where you could change clothes or so. Nobody knew about it. Málaga, that was a big town, but also not known very much for civilization. In the middle of the town were high hills, very high hills, and very straight down to this lower part of the city. And on top of the hill we saw people fishing. They had their lines hanging down. But they didn't fish fishes; they fished birds. Ja. They were weighted, and they had a piece of bread or so. And when the birds went there to nip from the bread, then they brought them up. Instead of fish they ate the birds. [laughter] Also, the first time we ate there, it was very good: on the street you could eat little shrimps, tiny little shrimps. They fried them on the street, and you could eat them with the skin; it was very crispy and very good. So I remember that from Málaga.

And then we went to Seville, and Seville is very famous, by the very beautiful churches there and also castles. Also there is this tabac, you know, where Carmen plays, where they make the cigars, we saw all that. And then in Seville, we saw a bullfight. We were long speaking about [whether] we should go there; we were both very much against it. But my husband said, "I think when you are in the country, you have to see what happens there, and we

should see it." So finally we went there, and there was a great, one of the greatest bullfighters who ever lived, [Juan] Belmonte. It was Easter. They all came from the churches, and the whole town of Seville smelled beautifully of incense and something which they threw on the streets; it was a brush, a kind of herbs. The feet of the people crushed that, and the whole town smelled fantastic from incense and this kind of brush [rosemary and sage]. So we saw the big holy figures of Maria and all the saints, and the big flags and all. They had the holy people on big platforms; they carried them. They were sitting, different madonnas and so. It was very holy, and afterwards they went all to the bullfight.

WESCHLER: Where this great, famous bullfighter was fighting.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. But you know it was Easter, and first they went to church, and everybody was kneeling when the holy monstrance came. They were all kneeling on the streets, and in the afternoon they went to the bullfight.

WESCHLER: What did you think of the bullfight?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ach. I couldn't look at it. The terrible thing was not the bull; the terrible thing was the horses. That was the most terrible thing. Before the bull comes, the banderilleros fight with the bull. The bull is there, but this is before the bullfighter comes. On horses are the picadors. The banderilleros

are jumping on the bull and putting their little flags with little daggers on the bull's back. This is bad enough because it hurts, but it's not dangerous. Then come the horses, the picadors with big spears. They really hurt the bull, because you hear when the spear goes through the skin of the belly. They pick the steer not to hurt him too much, because they have to leave him for the bullfighter, but the steer himself gets always more ferocious from the blood. His horns go into the belly of the horses, and this makes this terrible noise, you know, a muffled noise, just terrible, and the entrails come out. The horses drag the intestines through sand and still have to go on, and sometimes the horses fall down but mostly they could go to the end. And then they were dead, too, of course. But this was worse than the bullfight itself.

TAPE NUMBER: XII, SIDE TWO

JULY 28, 1975

WESCHLER: Today we are going to start with some corrections of earlier material, and then we are going to proceed on to some of the other trips that Lion took. Let's start with a correction concerning your stories about Ibsen.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, when I was still a child, I was playing with boys at the Maxmiliansplatz--that was a park--and we shouted a lot and I was climbing on trees and jumping around. And then a little old man with big white sideburns and a long white cane came to me and said, "A girl doesn't shout so loud." Then he left with his cane, turned around and left. Several days afterwards, in the magazine Die Jugend, I saw his picture when he is running over a meadow with two girls on every side. So I thought that he was also running around at least, even if he didn't shout. [laughter] And then I heard about that he was always sitting in the Café Maximilian that was in the Maximilianstrasse, across the street from the State Theatre. Behind an archway there was a coffee house, a coffee shop, which was called Café Maxmilian. And there Ibsen was sitting at the window and always making notes for his work. But when this happened, that he spoke with me, he didn't live anymore in Munich. He was just there for a short time.

WESCHLER: But he had earlier lived in Munich?

FEUCHTWANGER: Earlier he lived a long time in Munich, and he liked it very much, he always said.

WESCHLER: Fine. Well, today we are going to begin anyway with Lion's trip to England, which is in the mid-twenties. To begin with, we are going to correct an earlier impression by saying that the trip to France and Spain which we described last week, at the previous session, actually took place after Lion's first trip to England. So you might begin by telling us the circumstances of that trip.

FEUCHTWANGER: After his big success, which was introduced by Arnold Bennett...

WESCHLER: Of Jud Süss.

FEUCHTWANGER: ...about Jud Süss, he has been invited by the English government to come to England. I don't know if that was also the PEN [Poets, Essayists, and Novelists] Club; I don't know if it existed already then. But anyway he was received in a triumphal way. He had to speak over the radio, and when he came out they had to have the mounted police protect him before the big crowds who wanted to tear his suit off him.

WESCHLER: In enthusiasm?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. They were friends, of course. I

heard him speak in Berlin over the radio; this was very new, of course, to hear somebody from afar. Later I told him it was so easy to understand him because his English sounded absolutely exactly like Bavarian. [laughter] His pronunciation. But anyway I could understand it, really. Then he was invited by the king to see the picture of the Ugly Duchess [Margareta Maultasch], which already had been translated also. So he wanted to show him the picture which was hanging in the castle of Windsor. But my husband couldn't come because he had a terrible flu, and he couldn't follow this invitation. But [Ramsay] MacDonald came to see him in his hotel, which was also something unheard of, that the prime minister of England comes to the hotel to see somebody.

WESCHLER: This must have been very unusual, a German author at that point in England.

FEUCHTWANGER: He was so celebrated then. It was really melting the ice between England and Germany.

WESCHLER: Had there been many German authors previous to him who had gone?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, nobody was invited because they hated the Germans; they didn't even want to hear about the German writers. But this was such a success, so they invited him. The government invited him; of course, the newspapers were

all full of it, because they had all those glowing critics, reviews. And he was also invited by the vice-king of India. This was a great affair, a great event.

WESCHLER: This was Lord Reading. [Isaacs, Rufus Daniel, Viscount Erleigh, who was the first Marquis of Reading and was viceroy of India.]

FEUCHTWANGER: Lord Reading, vice-king of India. And when somebody, when a couple arrived then, the liveried servants at the door, or ushers, opened two doors and shouted the name of the gentleman and his wife into the assembly. But Lion said that for him they opened only one door because he was alone. And then Lord Reading took him by the hand and said, "I wanted to show you something." And they went to a long corridor in a big hall, a very ornamental hall, and there was hanging Lord Reading's painting, his portrait, in his great....

WESCHLER: In all his pomp and splendor.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, in all his pomp and splendor as vice-king of India. And then he said to my husband, very slyly, "That's me."

WESCHLER: You had a word for "slyly" in German.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, verschmitzt; that means also bemused, or amused, or whatever you want.

WESCHLER: That's a wonderful image of him. What were some of the other things that happened to Lion there? He must

have met Martin Secker during this trip.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, Martin Secker was publisher; he sent the invitation in the name of the government.

WESCHLER: I see. So it was at this time that he met him for the first time, or had he met him in Europe already?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, for the first time. In those days people didn't travel so much. Travel from Berlin to Munich or to London or vice versa was something unusual then in those days, especially for publishers and writers, who never had so much money in those days.

WESCHLER: Was Lion the first German author who Martin Secker had published?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was Lord Melchett who heard about the book. He wanted to give his wife a birthday present, and this was what he gave her. She didn't know what she wants to do with her time, so he gave her this present of a publishing house, and Martin Secker was the publisher. It was a very great event to have this publishing house, because all those people which were behind him--and also Martin Secker himself--were of a great family. Secker invited us in his old castle, which was really old; it was a little bit decrepit already, and everything was seventeenth-century. He had a big painting there, a portrait of an archbishop of England, and he said it was his grandfather. And then in the evening, before the chimney fire,

the fireplace, my husband was sitting with Mrs. Secker, and Mr. Secker said he wants to show me his garden. It was almost dark already. It was dank; it was foggy. It was very eerie, the whole atmosphere. There were those weeping willows and a little brook, and we went along the brook, and it was very romantic. And in every letter, even now, he always mentions our promenade in the night under the weeping willows. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Incidentally, that was on the second trip to England, when you were with Lion.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes.

WESCHLER: I find it curious that you didn't go with him on many of these trips. Why was that?

FEUCHTWANGER: I went to all his trips, except when he was invited for official trips. Officially that was not done, that the wives were also invited.

WESCHLER: So in those days the wives were not invited for official functions.

FEUCHTWANGER: They were not invited. When [George Bernard] Shaw was invited somewhere, he didn't bring his wife, he never brought his wife. Nobody knew his wife. But my husband was invited in Shaw's house in London, or near London, and he was a long time there. They had a very good time, and it was also very interesting. Mr. Shaw was a vegetarian, and he knew that my husband was not, so there

was some meat. Mrs. Shaw ate with my husband the meat, and Shaw alone ate the vegetarian dishes. Shaw was very enthusiastic about the American language and also literature; he told Lion that English has been rejuvenated by film, because there are now so many new expressions from America. He said that the language profited greatly from America because it was much more natural and naive, in a way, than the old English, and he enjoyed that very much. Also they spoke about the terrible things in the orthography, that English orthography should be renewed. He told my husband that he will give his whole money in his will to create an English writing, an English orthography, which would be written like it is pronounced. He did that also, but it didn't help very much.

WESCHLER: But he had already told Lion this at that time.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of his plan, ja. Also my husband was very amused, also even astonished, about his attitude about America, because he knew the English usually looked down their noses to America. But Shaw was always otherwise. He also asked my husband what he's getting for the essays or articles which he has been asked to write for English newspapers. When my husband said, "One shilling a word," then he said, "See. I get only half a shilling because I write too much." [laughter]

WESCHLER: Did he meet [John] Galsworthy at this time also?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think so, yes. Galsworthy, and Wells also-- most of the writers. Then he said he was once very embarrassed. In a big party or assembly, a reception, he has been asked which were his favorite English writers. And he said, "Kipling." There was a great silence: they couldn't understand that he found Kipling so great and was enthusiastic about him. Then later on, somebody asked him, "How could you find Kipling a great writer? Don't you know his political attitude?" My husband said, "I just didn't remark anything, because I only admired the great writer and I never thought about judging him as a politician." Then when he came home, he read again Kipling, and then he found out what the English thought, that he was for colonialism and all that, but he read it mostly like fairy tales. I remember on our trips in Italy when we were walking, we spoke about Kim, and we remembered the part where this old Buddhist priest couldn't keep pace with the little Kim when they were wandering together. But all of a sudden when they went near the Himalaya, the old priest was always ahead of the little Kim because he was now in his home place; he was used, like we were, more to climbing than to going straight. (But this is not meant symbolically.) [laughter]

WESCHLER: Okay, we won't take it that way. Did he have any stories about Wells or Galsworthy from that trip?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not many. You know, when you are only a short time with people, you don't get too intimate, so it was more or less formal. But they were very warm and very enthusiastic about his book and wanted him to come back again; and no sooner was he back, then all the journalists came from England to see him, and also me at this time, and to interview him. When they came to our little apartment on top of the roof, they were very amused that an author who had such great editions everywhere would live in such a small apartment, but they thought it's a kind of hobby, like when the English ride their very old Rolls Royce or something like that.

WESCHLER: An eccentricity.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. And then they made beautiful photos of us; by chance some of the photos have been saved, and I have them still here. On our little balcony, it was full of flowers and they made those.

WESCHLER: Maybe we can include them in this volume.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. And not long afterwards there came some Russian writers. There was first Fedin. Didn't I tell you about Fedin?

WESCHLER: I'm not sure that you told it on the tapes, so maybe you should tell it again.

FEUCHTWANGER: When Fedin was very reluctant--or how should I say?--rather cool, my husband thought afterwards, when

he left, "It seems that Fedin doesn't like my books."
But then, when Fedin went back to Russia, we got a translation [of his report] about his sojourn in Berlin and also about the books of Feuchtwanger; he was very enthusiastic. It seems that Fedin was as shy as my husband was. That's why they couldn't get together. One has to be more outgoing always. And then came the Russian journalists also to interview us. I took them with my car--I had the little Fiat then--to the radio tower. There was also an exhibition there. First we went up the tower, which was a little bit like the Paris Eiffel Tower, and one of the Russians got very dizzy and we had to go back fast. They were so amused, and also astonished, that a woman was driving a car; they had never seen a woman driving a car before. And also by chance I told them about skiing, that I just came back from skiing. So they said, "You are doing skiing?" They said, "That's also not known in our country. Wouldn't you come to teach our youth skiing? You could also drive a bus there. You would be paid very well."

WESCHLER: But you said, "No, thank you"?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I didn't. I was very flattered. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, could you talk a little bit about what the PEN club was. You've mentioned that.

FEUCHTWANGER: The PEN club was world famous. It is an association of poets, essayists, and novelists: that's

P-E-N. It's famous all over the whole world. John Galsworthy was president, and Jules Romain--I don't remember the other presidents. I think Galsworthy founded it. When Galsworthy came to Berlin, there was a big reception of the PEN club. There was a newspaper which had pictures of Lion, and myself with a great picture hat with long ribbons, and Galsworthy on my other side; and it was written underneath, "Lion Feuchtwanger, Mrs. Feuchtwanger, and Galsworthy." And then: "Of the many beautiful women, Mrs. Feuchtwanger was the most beautiful." This I remember, of course.

WESCHLER: And, for the record, I will say that I asked you to tell that story even though you didn't want to. There was another picture.

FEUCHTWANGER: And there was a picture in another newspaper of Galsworthy and Fritz Kreisler, and underneath it was the line, "Galsworthy, the romancier, with Kreisler, the auto manufacturer."

WESCHLER: So those kinds of gaffes happened even in Berlin, not just when these people came to the United States.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, that's true. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Okay, and you have the story of the wife of Jack London.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. Another visitor was Mrs. Charmian London. She was the widow of Jack London. She came to see us, and

she told me, what was all new to me, that beside her bed she had a whole built-up of electric gadgets, that in her bed she could make her breakfast. I was not astonished about that, but mostly that the wife of Jack London hasn't a lot of servants--because in Berlin, in Germany, it was cheap to have servants to wait on you--that she had to make her own breakfast in bed. But there was another time when Sinclair Lewis came with his wife, Dorothy Thompson. She told me they had three autos, and this was another time to be astonished because three autos I thought was too much. But she said she has one for herself and one for Sinclair Lewis and one for her cook. She had a big estate, and probably it was necessary for the cook also to go into the next village to buy for the household, but I just couldn't believe that somebody could have three. [laughter] It was so different, the life in Germany and America.

WESCHLER: No servants, but three cars.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: As long as we broached on the name of Sinclair Lewis, why don't we talk about him a little bit. This was later, this was in 1930, that he met you. Under what circumstances did he come?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was in Sweden to receive the Nobel Prize, and he came from Sweden to see my husband with Dorothy

Thompson. My husband knew already Dorothy Thompson because she came to interview him before. When they married in England [in 1928], he wanted my husband as--what do you call that for a wedding?--a witness, ja, ja. But my husband couldn't; he was very sick at this time with his stomach. But when Sinclair Lewis came--that was before--he told my husband that in his speech when he received the Nobel Prize, he said that he didn't deserve it, that Lion Feuchtwanger should have gotten it for his Jud Süß. Then he told my husband that he read Success, and that after he read this book, he was so enthusiastic that he wanted to write this kind of novel, but in collaboration with Lion. But Lion told him that he could collaborate with Brecht on plays but he couldn't do that with a novel; he just couldn't write together with someone else a novel. Then Sinclair Lewis turned to me and said, "Don't worry, I will just plagiarize him."

WESCHLER: And did he?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. Afterwards he wrote Ann Vickers, which has really not much resemblance with my husband's book Success. It is only that a woman wanted to free her lover who was in jail. So that was the only resemblance, but nothing else; there was nothing political like Success.

WESCHLER: By this time Sinclair Lewis had already written the five novels for which he is considered famous in American

literature, and in fact there is talk of how he was in decline after he wrote those novels. Did he seem vibrant at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Very vibrant. I saw him also later here in America, and he was still very vibrant, although he drank a lot later on.

WESCHLER: Was he drinking in Berlin at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not when we were together.

Then my husband was invited to Sweden, first to Denmark and then to Sweden. In Denmark, the German ambassador gave a dinner for him; Lion escorted the wife of the ambassador to dinner, to the table, and she asked my husband if all the Jews are writing so sexy novels. My husband was very astonished that she could find his novel Jud Süß a sexy novel. Then he went to Sweden and was very much celebrated there, and one of the committee of the Nobel Prize told him, "We will see you very soon again because you will get the Nobel Prize for Jud Süß." We were still waiting, and we didn't get it.

WESCHLER: Do you think that was a disappointment to Lion?

FEUCHTWANGER: Of course it was, because he was so, he was really promised so--how should I say?--positively. Later on he heard that the German officer's club, the military club, protested against him getting the Nobel Prize. Also in those days no Jew had ever gotten the Nobel Prize in

literature; they got it as scientists but never.... We also waited a long time for Jakob Wassermann to get it; everybody thought he would be the right man, but he never got it either. And the first Jew who got the Nobel Prize was the Russian who was against the Russian government, Boris Pasternak. He was the first Jewish writer, and everybody said it was more because he was against the government than as a novelist. He wrote Doctor Zhivago, ja, ja. That was the first Jewish writer who got the Nobel Prize. Others said that Anatole France should have gotten it, but then it has been told that he is Jewish, so they didn't give it to him. But he was not Jewish. It was not his real name, Anatole France; and everybody said he was Jewish, so he didn't get the Nobel Prize. But he wasn't Jewish. I do not know for sure, but I think he finally got it [in 1921].

WESCHLER: Was that something that was talked about a good deal, the anti-Semitism of the committee?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. But then an encyclopedia--I don't know if it was the Encyclopedia Britannica--asked my husband to write about the Nobel Prize. But he didn't write about this anti-Jewish attitude; he wrote that many should have gotten the Nobel Prize [and didn't], but that, as a whole, most of those who got it were worth it.

WESCHLER: Deserved it.

FEUCHTWANGER: Deserved it, ja.

WESCHLER: But it was something that bothered Lion?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it didn't bother him because he knew that it had nothing to do with him as a writer, just with him as a Jew. [pause in tape] Later on we got a letter from Sweden that he should have gotten it again. It was a member also of the committee who was sure that he would get it. But then it was Herman Hesse who got it that year. And the man who wrote him first that my husband would get it wrote him also why he didn't get it, that it was a German writer who was against it.

WESCHLER: Do we get the name of the German writer?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. [laughter]

WESCHLER: You know the name of the German writer, but you are not going to tell us.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. [laughter]

WESCHLER: I'm going to turn the tape off and you can tell me without the machine going. [pause in tape] Just a correction on the story, even though we aren't going to get the name of the author: it was the year that [Nikos] Kazantzakis got the Nobel Prize, not the year that Hesse got it.*

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Okay. Returning to the trip that he took to Sweden and Denmark, you mentioned that he was sick at that time.

*In fact, Kazantzakis was never awarded the Prize.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he shouldn't have gone--the doctor didn't want him to go--but he has promised, and he never cancelled anything when he promised something. So he went very sick and suffered very much by his stomach, and when he came back he had to go to bed and stay a long time. The doctor said he was gravely ill. Ulcers.

WESCHLER: These are still the ulcers that came from the arguments at the table when he was a kid.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, and also from the military.

WESCHLER: From the military. Were they chronically bothering him in those years, or was it just this one outbreak?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was--all of a sudden it came, you never knew why, without any warning.

WESCHLER: And this continued throughout his life?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja.

WESCHLER: At various sporadic intervals. Do you remember any other stories of his trip to Denmark and Sweden?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I told you, I think, about this wife of the ambassador. [laughter] I don't know anything else, and I think it was enough. And also this story about the Nobel Prize that he was promised.

Wait. I forgot all about that. I made a trip to America, I was alone in America with people whom I knew from skiing, friends of mine.

WESCHLER: When was this?

FEUCHTWANGER: Also in the twenties. I have to find out. But that was before, during the twenties, before my husband was in Sweden, between that and when we went to Spain or Italy. I don't remember, but I have to find out. [Approximately 1927-28] I know all this whole thing, just the different times I don't know, the dates.

WESCHLER: We'll research them.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. And when I came back from America.... I was also in Cuba then. It was very interesting, the trip, because in those days Cuba was not very well known. It was still before [Fidel] Castro, of course. But we have to speak about this whole trip maybe separately.

WESCHLER: Well, why don't we talk about it right now?

FEUCHTWANGER: Right now? That also? [laughter] Well, I went to New York. That was one of the greatest events of my life, when I got up at five o'clock in the morning and saw through the fog, which was just lifting, the towers, you know, the skyline. That was something which I never had dreamed of. I had never heard about it before. I was all alone on deck and saw it all by myself, the skyline beginning to golden by the sun. Then I was picked up on the pier, and my friend who picked me up told me that when he came to America, he had a very funny experience. He came from Vienna; he was a chemist at the Rockefeller Institute. He was always very Anglophile, as whole Vienna was Anglophile.

Germany was more for French--they all learned French-- but when you were a little snobbish in Austria you learned English. And not to have too much Viennese accent, he went for a year to England. So he thought, "Now I'm coming to America and I'll show them how to pronounce English." But when he left the pier he took a taxi, told him where to go, and the [driver] turned around and said, "Oistrach?" [laughter] "Oistrach?" he said; not even "Austrian."

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: His name was Harry Sobotka. He was the nephew of my husband's publisher, of the Drei Masken Verlag, or the cousin, I think. I don't remember.

WESCHLER: Why were you in America? What were you doing?

FEUCHTWANGER: I was invited. The publisher of my husband, Huebsch, invited me also. I was invited by many people.

WESCHLER: Why did Lion not come with you?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was not invited. [laughter] I was invited from those people with whom I was skiing. So that was a strictly private invitation for myself.

WESCHLER: Just as he got his private invitations, you got yours.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, with him it was not private; it was very much official. But for me it was private because it was skiing. I had also my friend in Germany who also invited me to Trier, where also my husband was not invited,

who was the friend from skiing who I told you about, who bandaged me when I broke the rib.

WESCHLER: No, you never told about that.

FEUCHTWANGER: I have never told you about that? That's another story because that's a friend who is still my friend in Germany, my best friend. But what should we do now?

WESCHLER: Let's start with the story of the bandaged rib, then we'll come back and get the others.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. When I was skiing in Sankt Anton, where the famous Hannes Schneider was my teacher, I always made a trip alone on Sunday, because I didn't like to be always with the other people. The whole week I was with others, and I wanted to be alone. So Hannes Schneider told me to go to the ski hut--that is not so far and also not a difficult tour--and I went there. After I had lunch there, I came back. It was really not very steep or so, but it was sometimes frozen. It was a very narrow path: on one side there was a deep abyss, and on the other side it was straight up. So my ski ran against a piece of ice, and I made a salto--a somersault--and fell down into the abyss. I would have slipped down--I don't know; I would have never been found--but there was a little piece of wood coming out (probably it was a piece of a fence, and it was snowed over) but one piece looked

out of the snow), and this piece stopped my falling, my fall. But I was still with my head down and my skis up, so I had to turn around--and I was falling on my belly, of course. I had to turn around, and it was very terrible painful because I was with my rib on this little piece of wood, on the little pole. Then when I had turned around, I could climb up again to the pass. When I came home, I had a very bad night.

WESCHLER: I don't blame you.

FEUCHTWANGER: I couldn't breathe. I met a gentleman with whom I was skiing sometimes; he was a count from Belgium, a very good skier, and used to all kinds of difficulties because he was also a scout in Africa. He told me, "You have to be careful. After all what you tell me, you have broken a rib, and you should go to the doctor." I told him I had an aversion to this doctor, because I think he is not very fair to the ladies. Maybe it was just a prejudice, but anyway I didn't want to go to this doctor. So he said, "Then the only thing is to bandage it with a big tape, a very broad tape, but you can only get it at the doctor. There is nobody else who has it, and you have to go to the doctor for the tape. Then you have to have somebody who will bandage you, and very tightly." So I went to the doctor, got the tape, and I met a girl who was sometimes with me skiing. She was a beginner, more or less, but we were together at the Waldhausel (that's a little hut also which is not so high up), and we were as usually

sitting and making conversation. I told her about my [accident] and she said, "I come with you and bandage you." From then on, this bandage was for the whole life.

WESCHLER: What was her name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Maria Angelica Kuntz, and she lives in Bavaria now. She was from Trier; her grandfather was the lord mayor of Trier. She was the one--didn't I tell you about this girl who helped me with the building of the house?

WESCHLER: You haven't told us yet, but when we get there you can tell it on tape.

FEUCHTWANGER: That was the one, ja, ja.

WESCHLER: Okay, let's get back to America, since we picked up that story.

FEUCHTWANGER: That was one of the skiing stories, and the others were also with skiing friends. I made always good friends when I was skiing, better friends than I ever had in the cities, usually, because in the city I was always not so much in the limelight, because my husband was there, while in skiing I was alone. [laughter] And then from New York we went to Cuba, and in Cuba there was a big club very near Havana--Marianao, I think it was called. It was very exclusive; you had to pay to go to the beach. My friends were known there; they had friends in Cuba, so I could go to this club. And there was a big tower,

an enormous tower; it was, I think, six or eight stories high. Since I was alone I didn't know what to do, just swimming or sunning; I thought I should climb up the tower and make a dive from the tower. So I went up and at the first story--I went always higher and higher, and I thought that was still not high enough, until I was really on the top of this tower. And then I thought, "Now I am here, I might as well also jump." So I went out but then I was already sorry for it because this board was very narrow and also it whipped--it had a lot of whiplash--and you had to go very far out, because if you dive and are too near the tower you can hit your head against the tower. And I couldn't go back. I wanted to go back but I couldn't turn because I began to get so dizzy: underneath was the ocean flimmering with the light on the water, and I just couldn't turn around. It was also so narrow. So I began to jump--there was nothing else to do. I dove. I remembered what my teacher in Berlin told me how to dive. I did it very consciously, and I really came down the right way. I came up again (after a while, because you went very deep down when you jumped so from such height). And on the beach there were all kinds of people, who came together when I came back and said, "How could you do this? That's dangerous. You could have exploded to smithereens."

[laughter] But I said, "Now it's too late. I'm here."

[laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, thank God it wasn't too late.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. And then a big thunderstorm came, all of a sudden, like there is in the tropics. Also on our way to Cuba we had such a thunderstorm. We had a thunderstorm and water hoses--how do you call it?--waterspouts dancing around our ship. It looked terrible, but it was also very interesting. The captain was always shaking his head and the nuns--there were some nuns on the ship--were kneeling down and praying because they were afraid. We were lying in those deck chairs, and we became very wet because that is also water. One came over the ship, but it was not a big one. At least we were only wet. And the funny thing is that about five minutes later the sun came out, and in not much longer we were already dry again because it was so hot. It was just a good shower. But it looked terrible when those spouts danced, like dancing, around us. So we had all kind of adventures already before Cuba.

WESCHLER: What season was that?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was summer, late summer, October or so.

WESCHLER: What was life like in Cuba in your memory of it?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was very interesting. I couldn't really tell what the life was like because I was invited, of course, and in big hotels, it's everywhere the same. But it was

wonderful to walk around and see the population. Most of all what I found was that the young people looked all so beautiful. The girls as well as the young men looked very beautiful. But not very strong: very thin, and they had also lots of Asiatic blood, I think, there. What was most remarkable was that--now I could also find out when it was--it was during the prohibition, and the Americans went to Cuba to drink. You could see them, and then they were so drunk usually--that was the impression what the Cubans had of America--that on their way when they were found on the streets, they were brought to the ship. And we could see them lining the whole street. The whole road to the ship, you could see the drunken Americans lying there. That was American civilization. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Do you think there was a good deal of anti-Americanism already then?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I didn't feel anything, not at all. Why should it? Because it was not communistic then. It was a dictatorship there.

WESCHLER: Were the people...?

FEUCHTWANGER: I didn't know. Since I didn't speak Spanish, so I didn't know what it's about. I thought that life, I thought it was so beautiful. Also I didn't care about eating or so; I like to eat fruit and that's what I did. Maybe I shouldn't have done it, but I didn't know, so I

ate fruit there. Later they said, "You shouldn't eat fruit in those parts." But since I didn't know it, I didn't get sick. [laughter]

WESCHLER: So, from Cuba you went where on that trip?

FEUCHTWANGER: I went back again home.

WESCHLER: How long a trip was that?

FEUCHTWANGER: About a month, two months maybe. And then when I came back.... On the ship back, there was a terrible storm, and everybody was seasick. I wasn't very sure if I wouldn't also be seasick, but since I felt best on the upper deck, so I went up. I didn't eat anything, and I only played shuffleboard or tennis. But deck tennis: that's a little bit otherwise than real tennis. I forgot. I was playing tennis and I forgot. I was very good at this deck tennis (but that doesn't mean that you are good on every tennis) and also shuffleboard. I usually won, and it was exciting and gay. Then a gentleman came to me--he was not so young anymore--and said, "How do you do it that you are not seasick?" I said, "I just forgot about it playing tennis. I felt a little like that, that it could be." So he said, "I try that too." And then we played always together. He was the director of the Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York [Dr. Sigismund Goldwater]. He was a doctor, and he asked me what I did against seasickness. [laughter] He said it was the best I could do; he also wasn't seasick then.

Everybody was seasick, even the newspaper--there was no newspaper--and the musicians: they were all seasick. The only two people who were not seasick until I told this doctor my cure was a little old rabbi and I. He was too old to get seasick.

WESCHLER: I was going to ask, what was his secret?

FEUCHTWANGER: Maybe he prayed. [laughter] Anyway we two were invited by the commander, by the captain of the ship. We had wonderful dinners and suppers always with caviar and the best thing which you could get, because we were all alone; nobody else ate. [laughter]

WESCHLER: It really sounds like Ship of Fools.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, almost, but there were no fools there; they were all sick. [laughter]

And then when we came back, I found the car. This was the surprise with the car. It was a little Fiat, a Fiat 9, I think. It was very small but sporty-looking; it was an imitation of Rolls Royce. It had the same shape, the same hood as the Rolls Royce, very long in comparison to the whole size. So it was very chic. I didn't want to have a big car in the beginning, so I was very glad it was a small car. Only Brecht drove it out first, and he did some damage. But not very much.

WESCHLER: Now, Lion had got the car as a present?

FEUCHTWANGER: For me, yes, a present, to welcome. So I

was riding. Already before I had made my examination with Elizabeth Hauptmann, who was the secretary of Brecht. I was then fixing the apartment which we had because at first we had only two rooms, and then we got four rooms....

WESCHLER: In the same building?

FEUCHTWANGER: In the same building. And we wanted a central heating, at least for the room. Before, we had in every room a little oven with wood. And then we had central heating in the kitchen; from the kitchen was a heater and boiler. Everything was broken up with the pipes and so, and my friend who I told you about, she helped me. We could not go into the kitchen--we had no possibility to cook--so we ate only bananas most of the time. My friend [Kuntz] came from Trier to help me with the work, and that was when I learned how to drive. And it was so expensive, it was 100 marks, about what \$100 is now. So Elizabeth Hauptmann and I, we could do that together, so everybody paid only fifty marks. But because I had the workmen there, I never could go to the lessons, and she has profited all by herself. She picked me up only at the end of the lesson for five minutes. I just drove for five minutes; that was all. And I had to make the examination. I didn't know how to drive backwards or to turn around, but fortunately I didn't have to do that, because when I was making the examination in a big Mercedes-Benz with six gears outside on the

right side. And I usually always killed the motor, but I was lucky on this day and I didn't kill it when I had the examination. I was really protected by some good spirit.

But after I learned, I killed the motor in the middle of Berlin in the most, the greatest traffic. It was raining, and Berlin was known for its very slippery roads. Before me was a bicycle, a young boy on a bicycle, and a bus. It was so slippery that this bus turned over, the bicycle boy fell down, and I....

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JULY 28, 1975

WESCHLER: Well, Marta Feuchtwanger is wreaking havoc here on Berlin's traffic patterns, and we better find out what happens. So we've got a bus turned over, a bicyclist on his side, and your teacher....

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. But this was--no, this was the second teacher. The first teacher was before I made the examination. With him, I always killed the motor, and the poor man had to go out and rev it up, crank it over by hand. It was not automatic.

WESCHLER: Was anybody hurt when that bus toppled over?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. No--that was the next...no. This went too fast: it's not the right way to [tell the story]. First came the examination. First it was not the bus or so; I just killed the motor in the middle of the traffic, and the poor teacher had to go out and rev it up. He was not very friendly, of course, with me on account of that. And I also was not used to this traffic. I came from this little town of Munich that was not like the Berliner traffic. Anyway, I think I had to make the examination because I wanted to go to America and wanted first to have my driver's license. Unfortunately, when I had to drive, at the same time during the driving, I

have been asked the oral examination. I was already so nervous from the driving that I had--but I didn't show my nervousness; I was good always to hide that. He asked me about what are you doing when the tank is burning? And then I said, "I take off my skirt"--you see, in German the word for coat and the word for skirt is the same [Rock])--"and put it over the flame." So, of course, all the others who were with me in the car, they just burst out, you know, they broke up, because I said I take off my skirt. [laughter] And the instructor was very indignant about this behavior, and also he didn't like my whole approach. But I didn't make any mistake and he was tired of the puns I made, so he just said, "Next one." So I went through without knowing; I came through.

And then my teacher told me that a funny thing happened to the daughter of Mr. Jessner--that's the director of the State Theatre. She made the same thing on the same place where I had to pass over--that was what they called the Knee. There is a place where so many streets come together, so they call it the Knee. And this is a very difficult approach. When Miss Jessner went through, a policeman who was standing there--there were no traffic lights or stop signs or something, only a policeman--stopped the car and asked her, "Are you coming by here very often?" She was very flattered and said, "Yes, yes." And he

said, "So then I take another position." [laughter] How do you say that?

WESCHLER: That's fine. "I'm going to look for another place."

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. And that was just where I made my examination. But I was lucky. I went through.

But then Müllereisert, who was a friend of Brecht, wanted to show me how really to drive. I said, "You know I don't really know. I got my driver's license, but I just don't dare to go alone with my little car." He said, "Oh, that's nothing. You come with me and I show you." So I went with him, and he said, "You just drive off. I tell you turn around, turn left, turn right, and you do it like that." I did it like that but [he was so fast]-- he said, "To the right, to the left," and I wasn't fast enough, and another car came, and we just collided.

WESCHLER: Oy.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. But I was in the middle of the street, where I had to turn right. I was not on the right side; I was in the middle. So it was no way to do that. It was my fault, of course. But Mullereisert went out and said, "Are you insured?" And the others said, "Yes, we are insured." He said, "And we are also insured. That's no problem." [laughter] From then on, I didn't want him anymore as a teacher. I said, "That's too fast, you know--turn left, turn right. It's just too fast, you know." I was not used

to this Berlinish tempo; I was from Munich where everything is slow. So I had to find a garage. In the house there was no garage; so I had to go for about five minutes to go to a garage. I could only get a garage with three other people. One of those people never went inside enough so I couldn't go through. I couldn't get to my place because he was halfway out. And there was a chauffeur of a private party; he always tried to get this other car out of my way. Then I had always to go bias inside. It was good that my car was so small, but it was just--I learned really to drive just going in and out of this garage. When the chauffeur tried to get this car out of my way, I told him, "Couldn't you show me how to drive? I really cannot drive." And he said, "With the greatest pleasure." He took his motor apart and told his boss that the motor doesn't work, because he wanted to teach me how to drive. [laughter] So his boss had to take a taxi. And his chauffeur taught me to drive. And that's what happened when we were in the rain and the bus fell over. I was in this little car with the chauffeur beside me who was very quiet. He just said, "Oh, don't lose your nerve, just, just, stay...." I was so frightened that I put my knees up to my nose, or my nose down to my knees. I didn't want to see anything. I just was braking; that was all. I said, "No, I don't want to go on anymore. You go home with me now." And he drove me home.

But he said everybody would have lost his nerve--he said so because he wanted to make me more secure--who is not used to it, when a bus is falling over and a boy is lying before you with his bicycle.

WESCHLER: And you don't know whether anybody was hurt in that?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I don't know, I never heard it: there was nothing in the newspapers. So maybe the bus was empty, I don't know; I just didn't see anything. It was also in a driving rain. Since nothing was in the newspapers, so it must have been nothing serious.

Then I went behind the house where I lived and did my driving alone. I drove forward; I drove backward; I turned around; until I knew how to drive. I did it by myself. That was the only way to do it.

Then I had to drive my husband to the eye doctor. I was already rather secure of myself. When we went home, we had to stop because a policeman made a sign; he brought his hands forward. And I stopped. At the same moment, from the right side came a big Mercedes-Benz. It was so big that with his fender he came over my fender. I couldn't even come out anymore. He began to shout with me and said, "Natürlich, of course--a woman, a woman driver. Look at her, what she did to me! Those women drivers, they are just crazy what they are doing." Then the policeman came and said,

"I have seen everything. The lady was stopping because I made her a sign to stop, and you came over here with your big car, and it's all your fault. And I will report you."

He wanted to report him. So--and then we went on. My car, my fender was broken or pushed in, but nothing happened to me.

And then, a day later, a policeman was at our door and said he wants to interview me--and my husband, because my husband was with me. In those days, a woman had nothing to say, you know; it was only the husband. So he asked my husband, but my husband said, "I don't know anything about driving. You have to ask my wife. She was driving." So he asked me and said, "Yes, I know that you were driving, but I want a witness. I need a witness because the other took all the people around him as witnesses. So we have to have a witness too. It doesn't matter what he says, just a witness." Then he said, "We know that you were innocent and he should be fined." I said, "Please don't be too serious with him. He is just a chauffeur, and he loses his job when he is fined. So let's let it go. He didn't do much damage. My insurance pays for it. So let's get over with it." He said, "This is very kind of you, and I will report that."

But then he went to my husband and said, "But you know, I tell you something: I know your wife for a long time. I see her driving. She drives like crazy. She is very secure,

but when she turns around the corner, one wheel is always in the air." (Since there was no prohibition, you could drive as fast as you wanted. There was no fine about that.) So he said, "But I think she should have a bigger car, a real car, not this little tiny thing. You should buy her a real car, and then she could drive for real, like she wants to drive."

So my husband bought me a big Buick. And then with this Buick we went to Italy.

WESCHLER: Okay, before we go to Italy....

FEUCHTWANGER: That was the whole story. First I have the American trip, because after the trip came the little car; and then, because the policeman told my husband to buy me a big car, I got a big car. Also we had more money then because my husband had already made contracts for other novels with the publishers.

WESCHLER: Before we go on to Italy, I did want to make one footnote for future historians concerning your driving, which is that at age eighty-five, here in California, not only do you continue to drive....

FEUCHTWANGER: Not yet eighty-five.

WESCHLER: Sorry. Eighty-four.

FEUCHTWANGER: You don't make me older! [laughter]

WESCHLER: At the sprightly age of eighty-four, not only do you drive, but you chauffeur everybody else around.

You pick up people, take them to places and everything, so I don't think we should degrade your driving skills too much.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but I have to tell you more. Then my husband had to have his license. I wanted him to have a license, too.

WESCHLER: He didn't know how to drive yet at this time?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he never drove before, because we had no car before, and then we had only the little Fiat. But on this little Fiat he could not learn to drive because it was too difficult. A bigger car was easier to drive in those days. It was just the beginning that you could automatically start a car. He could never have done it with [cranking].

When he had his lessons, he had the same teacher as I had. Finally the teacher said, "I can't stand it anymore. He is just not talented for driving." He was so absent-minded always, he always thinks that the car does everything by itself. So he gave him to another teacher who was one of his--he was a higher teacher and the others were his lower teachers. So about half a year it took until Lion could get his license. Always, every day, he took a lesson. And then I thought finally it was just protection. He would never have gotten it in the right way; there must have been somebody protecting him.

So he finally got his license, and then we drove together. It was still the little Fiat, and he was sitting at the [wheel] and never wanted to brake. It was not very difficult to drive in those days because you could do whatever you wanted. Only nothing should happen. But the only thing, which was really strict, was that you had to stop when a bus or a car was stopping: you had to stop for people to go in and out. My husband never stopped, and I told him, "Why didn't you stop?" He said, "It's so difficult to get the car into gear again, so I would rather not stop." I was so angry when he said that, that I said, "So now you go alone. You will learn it better when you are alone, because you don't do what I tell you." So I went out of the car and [walked] home--it was not far from our house--and let him be alone, let him drive alone. I thought he's rather secure because there was not much traffic in this surrounding. But he went into a bigger street where the streetcar went through; he had just crossed the street when the tram came. And in the middle of the rail, the car stopped.... And the tram stopped also. So the man, the conductor of the tram, went out and said, "Little man, you have to push these buttons. [laughter] Then the car will run again." [laughter] Then my husband did push them. He came home, and he said, "I think I don't drive anymore. That's

the last time I drive."

Anyway, we made some excursions sometimes, little trips in the neighborhood, the little lakes around Berlin, which has a very beautiful environment. Once we came [to a section where] it was not difficult to drive, so I told my husband, "Now you drive a little bit." So he drove, and all of a sudden we came to a factory. It was the end of the day, and all the factory, all the laborers and the girls came out. We were just surrounded by people, and my husband didn't know what to do. I took with my two hands the driving wheel and wanted to drive it to the curb, you know, because I knew my husband wouldn't stop. So I drove it to the curb, and then a policeman came and said, "Who of you has a driver's license?" So we both showed him our driver's licenses, so he couldn't say anything. He said, "I saw the lady doing something on the wheel. That's not right." But we had both our driving license. Then I said to the policeman, "I think I drive now myself." So we left this place, and he didn't do anything to us because what could he do?-- nothing happened, and we had both the driver's license. But when we went back and my husband was again on the wheel, there came some cows across the street, so my husband went straight into the cow. [laughter] She turned around--of course, he didn't give much gas so the car stopped anyway; he killed the engine. And the cow just looked around with big eyes, very sad. But then I....

WESCHLER: You had actually hit the cow?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, but nothing happened, not even the fender, because he already....

WESCHLER: I'm not worried about your car, I'm worried about the cow!

FEUCHTWANGER: The cow just turned around and looked with very sad eyes at my husband. [laughter] You could say "reproaching" but maybe that's too much for a cow. [laughter]

So then for a long time we didn't drive anymore, and then we went to Italy with the new car. And we went to Switzerland; we had to go through Switzerland. It was very difficult driving because we went by the Bergstrasse, it's called, it's along the Rhine. (It's called Mountain Street, Bergstrasse.) And this is very narrow, and people-- it was a Sunday--drove like crazy. I was not very slow in driving usually, but I was really scared to drive there because so much happened always. In Germany, they are not very good drivers; they are very ruthless drivers there.

WESCHLER: Well, you're not.... So far, the way you describe your own driving, I don't think you're in any position to talk.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. [laughter] But when it was on a street like that, I was careful. Anyway I had never a fine, and it never happened anything to me. When we were stopping at a place, my husband said, "You know what we will do? We

drive through the Bergstrasse tomorrow--we finish that--and then we go to Switzerland." (In Switzerland there were prescriptions--what do you call that?--a law that you couldn't drive more than twenty miles per hour or something, you know, the whole Switzerland. And my husband said, "We want to go to Italy, and we want to go as quick as possible through Switzerland." But I said, "We cannot go so quick. We cannot go in one day through Switzerland with this law not to drive so fast." He said, "But I think it's better to get a fine than to stay in Switzerland, where the hotels are so expensive that a fine couldn't be as much as the hotels are. I like to go to Italy." So we went half through Switzerland, and then we stayed overnight on a very high village, before we went over the Simplon Pass to Italy. The next day I said, "We go very early in the morning, so there will be no traffic over the Simplon." The streets were absolutely empty and very straight, the road, so I told my husband, "How about driving again, a little bit, so you wouldn't forget everything?" He drove slowly straight on, and when we came to the Simplon, to the beginning--it was still not very steep--I said, "Now I think I take over." And we came to a fountain, so I said, "I think I stop there because we have to look for the water. There is no water later on." Until we came to this fountain, there was always a motorcycle behind us, always whooping. I said,

"This poor man, when I drive so slowly which is the law-- he has a very hard time to drive so slow, too. I think I drive a little faster." He couldn't pass me; it was too narrow. So I drove a little faster not to be always in his way. So then I stopped at the fountain. Then this man on the motorcycle stopped, too, and he said, in his Schwyzerdütsch, which I almost couldn't understand, "It's good that I found you, that I caught you here, because I could never reach you. You drove too fast, and it's against the law." But I said, "My dear man, I did it only because you were whooping all the time that I am too slow." And he said, "I didn't whoop that you were too slow; I whooped that you were too fast." Then he said, "And, you know, I was driving behind you for a long time, and as long as your husband drove, that was right, he is a good driver, but you drive like mad." [laughter] And then he said, "And that costs twenty frankli." Twenty frankli [dialect for "francs"] is rather a lot of money, because that was gold money. Then I said, "That's too much. I don't pay that, because you chased me all the time. I did it only for you; I didn't want to go so fast." And he said, "All right, if you don't pay it, then there will be a trial." I said, "All right, there will be a trial. We go to Italy now." So he took our name, our address in Berlin, and we went to Italy.

We were very happy in Italy. It wasn't so expensive as Switzerland. It was very difficult going over the Simplon, because it was more narrow than it is now and when a bus came down, you had to find a place where you could pull over. You had to go backwards around the turns; it was really difficult. And you could see other cars lying down who had fallen down. After a while, when we were in Italy on one of the North Italian lakes, we got a letter from Lion's secretary in Berlin, "What happened? Did your wife kill somebody with the car? There was a trial in Switzerland against her." Then she sent us the whole paper. In the paper it said that I was too fast and fined five frankli or so. It was only five instead of twenty. So that was all the trial: nothing happened to me, and I didn't kill anybody.

WESCHLER: And you are still here to tell the tale.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. So that was my husband's driving. Did I tell you the story of Roda Roda in a Berlin newspaper? Roda Roda's famous anecdote. He wrote books with anecdotes; he was a famous storyteller. And he wrote, "Lion Feuchtwanger got a new car, and he drove through the Kronprinzen Allee, and all of a sudden he ran against a tree. He went out of the car and said, 'All right. But what shall I do when there is no tree to stop the car?'" [laughter] That was my husband's driving.

WESCHLER: Well, listen, yours isn't that much better.

FEUCHTWANGER: I was never fined, and never happened anything.

WESCHLER: Okay. Well, we have you in Italy now. The last time you were in Italy, you were walking, but now you're driving.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, the last time, but the second time we were driving in a Buick, in a big Buick, and that was something else.

WESCHLER: Why don't you tell us a little bit about that trip? Where did you go?

FEUCHTWANGER: We were first on the Italian lakes, and then we went to Rome again. We wanted to go fast to the south, to swim. Then finally we came to the south of Rome, where the brother of Jakob Gimpel, Bronislaw Gimpel, has a house--Terracina, it is called. And it was very beautiful. We were also on lakes where we could bathe, take a bath and go swimming, near the Castel Gandolfo where the pope is always in summer. We were on a lake which is a volcanic lake which is so deep nobody knows how deep it is, and very blue. There we swam. And also in the inside of the Apennines, in every lake we saw we took a swim.

Then we came to Terracina and stayed overnight. I stayed to change the oil in the car in the morning--because every thousand miles, you change the oil--and also to

lubricate. In the meantime we were always making walks; every time we did that we saw the things which there are to see, you know, the museums or whatever it was, the churches. When we came back, they said the car is ready. I took the gauge out, and I saw that the oil was all black. So I said, "But you didn't change the oil. Maybe you just lubricated it." "Oh, yes, we changed the oil." They showed me the oil, a big jug of oil, and said, "Look here, we took that out." And then I said, "This is not oil of my car; that's the oil of a tanker, of a big car, of a truck, but not of my car. My oil still is black, and it should be light when it's fresh." So finally they were polite and nice enough to change the oil really. But from then on I always stayed there to watch over them. The next morning when we wanted to leave, all the tires were down, all four tires. Somebody picked them down, so they could be repaired, of course, and we had to wait. But that was because I insisted to get fresh oil. [sigh] That was one of those things.

WESCHLER: What was Italy like? This is already with Mussolini in power at this time.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but you didn't feel that. From one hotel to the other, you know, it didn't.... The only one thing was when we were in a coffee house, there came an officer to sit with us. He wanted to speak with somebody

who was not Italian--and we spoke Italian--to tell how life is. He told the old story, "Two Italians are anti-Fascist, and three are Fascist." That is because when there are three you never know who would denounce. But when there were two, everybody would know, of course, when there was a denunciation who it was. That was the feeling of the Italian people. I never had the feeling that the Italians were fascistic, the people. There were only the young people, who were, of course, pampered by Mussolini; and they sang those songs--you know, "Giovinezza." But nobody was fascistic in Italy what I have seen.

WESCHLER: In a way that you felt that they were in Germany?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, in Germany they were Nazis, of course.

WESCHLER: And in Italy you didn't feel that.

FEUCHTWANGER: Nobody was fascistic, nobody we knew.

WESCHLER: Did they live in great fear, do you think, day to day, at that point?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not the people, of course, but those who were officials and so, because they had to be fascistic, and those who were not fascistic had a very hard time. Another time, when we were on the lake of Como or the Gardasee, the publisher of my husband came from Florence to see him, and the translator of my husband came

from Venice to see him.

WESCHLER: The Italian translator.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, the Italian translator. And the Italian publisher came from Florence. He told my husband that he should go and see Mussolini, like Emil Ludwig did. And my husband said, "What shall I say to Mussolini? I cannot go there and say, 'How are you? I am against Fascism.'" [laughter] So that was the end of the proposal.

WESCHLER: Emil Ludwig had gone to see Mussolini?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. Emil Ludwig was a great admirer of individualism. He was for Mussolini. He said Mussolini did right to invade Eritrea and Abyssinia because it was so backward and he made it a little bit more modern, but not everybody was of the same opinion. He was also for [Antonio] Salazar very much. He was for great--he was interested in great figures.

WESCHLER: For Franco also?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't think so; I don't know. I don't know about Franco; I know only about Salazar.

WESCHLER: Well, what else did you do in Italy?

FEUCHTWANGER: Then we went to Amalfi, where we first were, our first swim in the ocean, you know.

WESCHLER: This is now winter in Italy?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was summer. Before when we were the first time there, it was our first swim in the ocean, you

know, when we first came to Amalfi, when we were hiking there. This time we went into the beautiful hotel which the last time we were looking at only from outside, the hotel Cappuccini [Convento]. That is one of the most famous hotels in the world because it was once a beautiful monastery. It hangs on a cliff very high up on the hill. A very steep road goes up; you couldn't even go with a car up. When somebody couldn't walk, they were carried by a kind of--like in China, you know, something....

WESCHLER: A cart or a carriage.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, they had to be carried.... Sänfte, it's called in German. ["Sedan chair"] And they had to be carried up by two or four people, whatever it was. The garage was underneath, in a cave in the rock. It was very difficult to go in; it was a very narrow entrance, and when you were in, you had to go right to the right, because straight were the horses--you had to be careful not to run into the horses. I had always to go backwards inside, because outside was the street and you couldn't go backwards outside. It was the road, the main road there; so you had to go backwards inside so you could go outside forward. It was very difficult. Inside it was dark, and the horses were inside.

WESCHLER: Was a Buick an unusual sight in Europe at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, absolutely. It was so that people were always standing around and looking at the car. Sometimes you almost couldn't leave the hotel because 200 young people were around looking at the car. And at the female who was driving: that was also something new.

WESCHLER: So where did you go from Amalfi?

FEUCHTWANGER: From Amalfi--we were staying for a while there; we intended to stay there for the season, to swim there. And this is very beautiful. The hotel has a cloister. Once it was raining, and my husband said, "You see, I would like to have once a house with a cloister like that, because it's so beautiful to go around, also in the sun, to meditate." And this is what we have here, such a cloister in this house.

WESCHLER: In the house here in Pacific Palisades.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, right, and it was always his dream to have something like that once. The dinner was always on a terrace with grapes hanging around and everything--oranges--everything growing there. The terrace was also almost hanging in the air.

And then we had visitors there. From Munich came a young lady to see us there. She was a young girl still. We were swimming together all the time. She was very acrobatic and I wanted to imitate her, but I was not trained in acrobatics. But I did that later: I did the same things that

man, and I don't want to tell so much about it because she was still a young girl.

Then by chance we met this doctor, a cousin of my mother. I told you about this genius, this young doctor, the anatomist who became then the director of the hospital in Munich and everybody said he must be baptized or converted. [Siegfried Oberndorfer] We met him there with his wife by chance. We didn't know of each other. He said that my mother is very sick in Munich and that when we go back to Germany, we should go over Munich and see her. He took care of her. Then we got a telegram to.... He left earlier. I drove him many times high in the mountains and so while my husband was working, and then he went back earlier by train with his wife.

Then I got a telegram that my mother is very sick and I should try to get there as soon as possible. So we went, you know, in a tempo through Italy. That was really daring, very fast and very long every day. Then we had to go over the Brenner pass, and there it was ice and snow. In the middle of the night--it was already night; it was very early night because it was winter--one of my tires blew out on a very steep part at the pass. I had to go out and change the tire. It was so cold that I couldn't even have feeling in it. I gave my husband the flashlight so I could see a little bit, for the screws. And then the flashlight gave out.

It was not a very good flashlight, bought in Italy. And in the dark I had to change.... My nails were all black, not black from dirt but I pinched myself and everything what happened, I don't know. But anyway, my hands were all wounded and almost frozen, my fingers, but I finally got the wheel on. But when we were not long on our way a car from behind ran into us. We had a big valise on the rear, because we were in grand hotels sometimes in the north of Italy, and [Lion] wanted me always to have every night another gown. So we had a big valise where we could hang those gowns, so as not to pack so much, take so much time. Fortunately we had this big valise, because when the other car ran into us, this big valise was pushed in but nothing happened to us. In the other car they said the brakes gave out and they couldn't do anything about it. We were afraid in the night with those people--it was a truck or so. We didn't say anything and just went on, but our insurance paid everything, of course. In those days it wasn't too bad.

WESCHLER: If nothing else, this interview is really going to give people in the future an interesting view of driving in the early days. God, it's really thrilling!

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. Then we went to Mittenwald; it is on the top, on the other side of--no, before we came to Mittenwald, there was Seefeld. You know probably that in Austria they drove on the left side in those days. Part

of the road was Austrian and part was Germany. First we had chains on our tires, and then I took the chains off because the snow had already melted. There was some ice, and on ice the chains are no good; they are even worse. So I took the chains off again. I did it all myself. Then we went to our direction to Bavaria. Suddenly a car came against us on the left side, on the wrong side, because he must have been from Austria and forgot that that was the wrong side in Germany. He came with full speed against us. What should you do? I thought if I go now to the left, to the other side, maybe he at the same realizes that he is on the wrong side and goes also to this side. You know, in a second you have to think about it. So there was a little trench on the right side, and I went into the trench with my right wheels. When he has passed--I went out fast, because I would have turned over--my husband turned around and said, "He's still skidding around." From one side to the other. He couldn't stop, it was so icy. And he was bewildered, of course; also he did the wrong thing. My car, when I was back on the road, didn't stop because it slid to the other side of the road where there was an abyss. My car was already half out, but the rear wheels were hanging on one of those stones where there is indicated the kilometers, you know, the miles. There the car was hanging. And a priest came, just walking by--it was daytime fortunately--

he crossed himself because he thought now we are gone. So I went out and looked how the car was, the position of the car, and I tried to go slowly back. And I really came again to the road. But that was something. And just because there was a man who was on the wrong side. But what should I do? What would you do?

WESCHLER: This is your interview, so we won't ask the interviewer what he would do.

FEUCHTWANGER: [laughter] And then we came to Mittenwald. Then we were really a little sick from this driving, so my husband stayed there, and I went on alone to Munich to see my mother. We always had an open car. I had those big gloves which went to the elbow, you know, leather gloves, and a leather hood. So I drove in this icy weather; but it was beautiful, very dry cold.

Finally I came to Munich, to the hospital where my [mother's] cousin was the director, and my mother was lying there. When I went in, I almost got a stroke. I came out from this cold air and then in there, there was central heating. It was the difference between the cold which I inhaled all along the way and, very fast--my breath stopped, I couldn't breathe anymore. I was leaning against the wall, just waiting until it was better. Then it was over. It was just for a moment, but it was really a moment of very great fright--panic. I just couldn't--the lungs were

paralyzed, didn't expand--for the warm air they had to expand or so.

WESCHLER: What happened to your mother?

FEUCHTWANGER: She died then. I was there about a week.

My husband went then on with another lady, I think, who was also going to Berlin, and I stayed there for the funeral.

WESCHLER: Had your father already died?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he had died before.

WESCHLER: When did he die?

FEUCHTWANGER: In the twenties. I don't know; we didn't even know about it because we were in Berlin, and it was so fast that we couldn't know. My mother wrote us that my father--he became a little childish; he was senile. He was retired, but he was never sick. My mother told him that he had to do something. She said, "You go now and get the milk for us." You know, at the next dairy. He went out and came back. She told us, "He didn't know what to ask. He just said, 'Give me the white stuff.'" So he was not very much in his mind. Then he said, "I have something in my throat. Take it out." So my mother said, "Yes, when you have something in your throat, maybe you have tonsillitis. We have to have the doctor." And she called the doctor. The doctor came and said, "We have to go immediately to the hospital. It was a stroke." He couldn't swallow anymore. And the next day he died. It was so fast and without.... He was so angry when

the ambulance men came to carry him down. He didn't want to be carried down. He was angry with the people; he said, "I can go by myself."

WESCHLER: What were your relations like with your parents during the time that you were in Munich?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, they were very good from the moment on when I was married. My relations were very good. I remember only that my mother said, "Now I know what you had to go through with your father." And my father came very often and said, "Now I know what you had to go through with your mother." So they came always to me then, which was very good. There was only one thing that my father didn't like, that my husband had to take over as Vormund [his guardian]. He had to take over because my father was not competent anymore. My mother and my husband took over. My mother took over juristically and my husband had to take over the financial side. My father was very unhappy about that because he was still conscious; he only didn't understand what to do with the inflation. He had still a business, and he had to give up the business because he sold the merchandise as he bought it. But it was [the prices of] a year before, and only the normal percentage, so he lost all the money. My husband [barely] saved so much that they could just live.

WESCHLER: Well, I think we're coming to the end of this tape. We've done an awful lot of traveling in these two tapes,

the last two sessions.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, but the whole Berlin was always traveling. I think every year we went traveling.

WESCHLER: Well, for the next session you might try and think about things that happened in Berlin, what life in Berlin was like during that period, and we'll begin to come slowly to 1932-33.

TAPE NUMBER: XIII, SIDE TWO

JULY 30, 1975

WESCHLER: We've been talking in the last two sessions about all the trips you took during your time in Berlin. Today, and maybe the next session also, we're going to be talking mainly about what it was like in Berlin, the different kinds of things that happened.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, in Berlin we didn't live very much. In Berlin, we were always either traveling, or my husband and I, we were sick.

The first thing after we came from Spain was that my husband had an appendectomy. But it was not known yet in those days. It was not so easy to find out, because also he had stomach cramps. I called a doctor whom I knew--we had not a real doctor; I knew him only very fleetingly--and he came in the night and gave my husband opium. Then the pains were a little better, but not much. But mostly then he told me also to give him an enema, and then his fever went down entirely after that. But then the fever came back again, and I called the doctor. The doctor had said he would come in the morning again, and when I spoke with his wife, she said he has a patient in jail, very far from Berlin, and she cannot reach him. He had not come back yet. But he said that if he is not better I should bring my husband into

his hospital where he is used to have his patients. So I brought my husband there with my little car. We were waiting and waiting there, and my husband's fever began to get always higher and higher, and I became scared. Finally I called Professor [A.W.] Meyer, who was a famous surgeon whom I knew because I went to him when I had my knee sprained once from skiing and he treated me then. And he immediately let all his patients alone and waiting, and came immediately to this hospital. He told me when he came in already that he saw what had happened because my husband looked so feverish. He said all what we did was even dangerous to do. I shouldn't have given him an enema; he shouldn't have gotten opium. He has to be taken out from this hospital because he cannot operate there; he has seen the facilities, and it's too old-fashioned, he said. We have to go into his little hospital, which was only an apartment, only an operation room in an apartment, but very special, and also with special nurses. He said, "I cannot bring him with the car. He has to go by ambulance." Then when he was there, he immediately operated on him, and he allowed me to stay in the next room. Then after a while he came out with the appendix which was still steaming from heat, from the fever, and it had ruptured. He said it is very dangerous still, and an hour later would have been too late because the tissues around were already infected. In those days there was no penicillin or antibiotics, and so

it was very often deadly, fatal. When I saw Lion being rolled out of the operation room on a stretcher, unconscious, deadly pale, and spattered with blood, I told myself: if he recovers I shall let him live his life, let him do whatever he wants even if it means sacrifice and hurt to me.

He had the best nurse Professor Meyer could hire and could recommend, but she snored at night. (She was an elderly woman.) So I told Professor Meyer, "This is impossible. We can't have that." [And he said], "Well, you are always there anyway, so you stay here at night, and she only in daytime." So I was at night there, was allowed to stay in the room, which had never happened before, you know. But he was a great admirer of my husband, so he made this exception.

In the morning, when I came down, I forgot that.... It was a terrible thunderstorm at night, and I forgot all about my car, which was an open sports car. We never closed it; it was rather complicated to close. In the morning, I went down to go home to bring some pajamas for my husband. and what was necessary for him, and I saw the car covered. There was a note inside and it said, "I was here the whole night and went around the block, and I closed your car because it would have been all wet with this terrible rain." Signed Bertolt Brecht. So he must have heard from Doctor Mullereisert, who was his friend and an assistant of Professor Meyer, what happened, because I had no time to tell anybody. So it was the only possibility. And that he went the whole night around the block was really moving.

WESCHLER: How did Lion recover?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, Lion took a rather long time, and then he was very weak still and anemic. The professor told him to go into a sanatorium, to build up strength, that his health should be built up. That was in the Grunewald, this suburb which was so elegant. It was the first time that I remember that we could afford it. We were not used to so much money because my husband got always money from Jud Süß (which was called Power in America); from everywhere came money, and we were not used to it. We were still in this little apartment. So for us that was not such a great luxury because we could afford it now.

When he was a little better, [Samuel] Fischer, the famous, great publisher--he lived not far from there--heard about my husband's sickness, and he came to see him. My husband, for the first time, could go around in his room, and Mr. Fischer, who was an elderly man, went with him, going around in his room (there was a terrace also). And he said, "I never could get over it that you didn't send your novel Jud Süß first to me. After all, I am the first, the best publisher in Germany." And then my husband: "But I did send it to you. You sent it back without even opening the manuscript." So this was too late, but later on he published then other things from my husband.

Then the doctor told also that my husband has to have a masseur. Later he indicated it would be better also....

I always said, "Massage is only good for the masseur. It's not so good for the one who is massaged, because it needs more effort to...." Then I told that also to Professor Meyer, and he said, "Yes, you are right. Maybe you should have a coach." And he sent my husband to a coach, after he already was cured, was better. This coach was also the coach of the great industrialist [Otto] Kahn. He [Kahn] was a very great man; he traveled a lot around, and he said he wants his coach with him, so we lost our coach. But this coach, who was very nice and very efficient and also--they were always trained also in medicine--sent us a friend of his. This was a fantastic man, very liberal, and he built my husband really up. Lion was always a very good walker and hiker and also mountaineer, but he made him a little less stiff also: what is important is that the muscles, when you walk too much or hike too much, they get stiff. He also built up my husband's body. Then we made the jogging, the first time around the little lake there which was in our neighborhood. We just could look down into the valley, and a little to the left was a lake and also an old Renaissance castle. And this man, he....

WESCHLER: This was in the new house?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was in the new house, ja.

WESCHLER: Well, why don't you tell about this man first, and then we'll talk about the house in a second. What was

the coach's name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Karl Schroeder. And he did always jogging with my husband and also with me. But with me he made other things: I did acrobatics, handstands and cartwheels and things like that. Also what he did was mostly for skiing, that I wouldn't make this mistake anymore to hurt myself so much.

WESCHLER: You told me that he was Jewish, this coach?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no, not Jewish. There were no Jewish coaches. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Oh, that was not him. He was just liberal.

FEUCHTWANGER: He was very liberal, yes. During the Nazi time, he was always in Germany, but he found a way to send always letters--I don't know how. He went sometimes probably over the border or somewhere, because he couldn't write, of course, with his name on the [envelope]. He always found means to write us, and complained very much about the Hitler regime. But we never saw him again. I think he died later. He was still a young man.

WESCHLER: Do those letters still exist? Do you still have them?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't think so, because we lost everything in France. He wrote the letters to France, and when we left France, we had only our backpacks. [laughter] So that was all lost in France.

WESCHLER: Okay. I wanted to talk a bit, just in a rather random fashion, about some of the people who were your friends in Berlin. You mentioned Brecht, and we might tell some stories about Brecht. The other day, off the tape, you were telling me about Brecht's studio, and you might tell us about that.

FEUCHTWANGER: Where he lived, it was in one studio. He always liked to live very high up. Below the roof. And there where he lived and slept, it was all painted black--the whole furniture, everything was black. But he was not there much, because his wife had another studio which was wonderfully.... She had very much taste, and also beautiful furniture from her family in Vienna. She was from a very wealthy family who had a big department store.

WESCHLER: Which wife was this?

FEUCHTWANGER: The second wife--Helen Weigel, the famous actress. She was very communistic, much more than Brecht ever was, I think. She was the one--I told you when he came the first time to Munich with her, that she made the impression already to be a communist. She was from Vienna and brought with her this beautiful furniture, old Biedermeier furniture from Vienna. So her studio was a rather big studio, and very light, with beautiful things, and they had also lots of parties there. Not big parties, but parties to eat. Mostly the parties were just after dinner, with

wine and some sandwiches and so. But she invited us always to eat; she was a great cook. It was a tradition that every Christmas we were there at their house. Also here, when he came later here, that was the same: always Christmas. Once there was a French writer there and also Kurt Weill, and it was a real Christmas dinner with first mirror carp--very big, very broad, with no scales, and very juicy. Afterwards it was, of course, the Gans, the goose, the German goose. It was no Christmas without a goose. With chestnuts. She did all that beautifully--but she had a maid always, because she had two children. Once we came just before the dinner, and we saw Brecht sewing. It was very funny. He [told us] he had just bought a car and he wanted a little flag on the fender, and this must be black. So he sewed himself a black thing with a little wire so that he could fix it on the fender. And then, all of a sudden, we heard him shout, "Oh, I don't like that, to pick the father classic into the behind!" This was his little boy who took a needle and picked him into the behind. But he said, "I don't like that the papa classic would be picked into the papa behind!" [laughter] ["Das hab ich gern, den papa Klassiker in der Arsch stecken."]

And then I remember also when we were there once that Brecht spoke about making a new kind of play. My husband was writing his novels and was not available anymore, so

he asked his secretary, Miss Hauptmann. She was half American and could read English. And he asked her to look into the English literature if there wouldn't be something which he could adapt because he liked this knockabout humor very much, which is mostly in England. (That was to him the greatest thing--this kind of English humor.) And in those days there was just a big success of The Beggar's Opera by [John] Gay. So she had that coming from England. She read it, and she said that she thought that would be a good idea to make that into something German. She translated it into German, and then he made The Threepenny Opera.

[Die Dreigroschenoper]

WESCHLER: Gay was not known in Germany?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. Nothing was known, you know. That was all a province. Germany was a province; it was not a big country. It was all--everything was in Germany, you know. Even it took us such a long time until even the impressionists from France came to Germany, or their art, that they knew about that. [And that would not have happened] if it were not for Paul Cassirer, who I told you about. So one day Brecht was standing on the door jamb with his guitar and singing for Weill a Bavarian melody which he heard as a child. He sang it with his shrill voice and.... I remember, it was after I was in America and I brought some records back there with jazz. That was just new then,

jazz, and it was not known in Germany, and it made a big impression on Kurt Weill, who was very much influenced by jazz. And Kurt Weill was sitting at the upright piano and accompanying, improvising for Brecht for this song which was "Mackie Messer."

WESCHLER: That's based on a Bavarian folk song?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I heard it before, but it was changed because Weill jazzed it up. Brecht sang that, and that became then "Mackie Messer." So when it was finished, they had no title. And Brecht came to my husband and asked him whether he would advise the title Luden Opera, because "Beggar's Opera" [equals] "Luden Opera." Lude is a kind of bum--not a bum, more or less a criminal. A criminal bum, let's say. And my husband said he thinks it sounds terrible. He said, "What about Threepenny Opera?" So Brecht said, "Oh, that's great!" And so the title was from my husband. One title was by me....

WESCHLER: Drums in the Night is yours, and Threepenny Opera is....

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, this was my husband. It was Dreigroschenoper. Groschen is a Berlin expression for a penny, for a pfennig. Only used in Berlin.

WESCHLER: Almost like "three-bit opera," if you know that slang word. It was then premiered in Berlin.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was premiered in Berlin [on August 31,

1928], and it was a great sensation. Already when the curtain parted, there was an enormous ovation, because it was absolutely new what Erich Engel, who was the director, made. Of course Engel didn't do anything without Brecht; they were working together. Brecht influenced everybody who was--his whole surrounding was influenced by him. It was mostly also Caspar Neher who made the settings. The first settings were never to the taste of Brecht; he always said, "That's no good; you have to make better." And true, the second time it was the real thing. So he influenced everybody, and most sets were by Neher, and Erich Engel directed it. The ceiling: there was no ceiling. It was absolutely new, you know, and this was in a theater which was rather conventional before. There was no ceiling; you could see the whole ropes hanging down. On those ropes, all the paraphernalia which are used behind the stage were openly [displayed], and the clothes of the beggars, which are hanging there because the beginning [involves Peachum], the man who owns the beggars and gives them their clothes, and also what they need to take with them, their canes or crutches. It was all hanging there. That was so new and so astonishing that they didn't stop the applause.

WESCHLER: Was Lotte Lenya in the original production?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I think she was already, ja, ja. I think she sang Jenny, and that was her first great success.

WESCHLER: You had been friends with her all along also, ever since she had been in your husband's play.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, she was, ja, ja.

WESCHLER: What was she like?

FEUCHTWANGER: She was very interesting. She was not at all glamorous or so; she was not even pretty. But she was enormously sexy. She was a dancer before and her movements--and also she had a big mouth--everything was sexy on her. One forgot that she was not pretty or not beautiful because she was fascinating. Also she was very clever and had humor. She was a very interesting person. And is still. Also what she writes--for instance, she writes about Brecht sometimes, little glosses. They are always so witty: she writes words about his laughter or something like that, very short things but very clever.

WESCHLER: The play itself was a big success.

FEUCHTWANGER: Big success. But it was not only a success....

WESCHLER: Popular as well as artistic?

FEUCHTWANGER: Both, yes, enormous success, yes, and made a lot of money for Brecht which helped him also in the beginning of his emigration. Later on it--and it was also over. It has been played in America in the thirties.* Brecht came there in the thirties. But it fell through--it was not a success.

I was here once at UCLA at a panel with Albert Maltz

*In fact, these recollections refer to the 1935 American production of Brecht's The Mother.

and also the director of the theater department, [James] Kerans. We were [talking] about Brecht. Of course, people asked all these things, and they asked me about Brecht and his women, what I have to talk about that. So I said, "Brecht liked many women, but only one at a time." [laughter] Which wasn't true, but I didn't want to make so much sensation. [laughter] And then came Albert Maltz, and he spoke against Brecht. You cannot imagine. He said that Brecht was terrible when he came, and Maltz from his point of view was right. When Brecht came to New York--they made a great effort for him. The Theater [Union] was then, you know. I don't remember now the director--yes, Harold Clurman was the director of the Theater Union and the instigator. And it was a great effort, also financial, to let Brecht come. They paid for the trip, and the whole thing was very....

WESCHLER: What year was this?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. We were still in France.

WESCHLER: The late thirties, or the late twenties?

FEUCHTWANGER: About '36 or something like that. I don't remember. I know only that it happened. [1935] Brecht came to the rehearsal, and he behaved like he behaved in Berlin, but they were not used to that in America. When he said several times, "Shit," so the friendship was over. [laughter] Because also that was not like in Berlin where nobody had risked anything because it was the state who paid

for it. This was their money which was very difficult to get, and they made real great efforts for him. You have to speak about it with [Mordecai] Gorelik, maybe he knows about it; he lives here in Huntington Beach, I think. I will go next week probably. Maybe we can speak once with him. Maltz also said that Brecht said he doesn't stand for this; he doesn't want this and they should stop it; he doesn't want the performance and they do it against his will. I don't know if he stayed there during the first evening, but I only know it was an enormous scandal because he was so [rude]. But everybody was right. He was right because he never wanted to sell his things; he rather would lose money, have no success, if it wouldn't have been so as he wanted it. But the others were also right because they had this terrible effort, and also they didn't deserve such a treatment. But Brecht was absolutely ruthless when it had something to do with his art. He was not ruthless in private life, but this-- that was just a fanatic.

WESCHLER: Do you remember any other premieres of works of his in Berlin?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I remember also Happy End, which was a terrible scandal.

WESCHLER: In what way?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ah, it was very funny, but it was not one of his biggest things. He also didn't even recognize it himself. It was not signed by himself; it was signed, "Written by Elizabeth Hauptmann," his secretary,

because he felt himself that it was not so good. But I don't remember to have seen any other play in Berlin. Yes, I saw one, which was called--but it was in a very small theater--The Mother, I think, after a story from somebody else. From Gorky. And, of course, The Measures Taken [Die Massnahme], at a great theater, Die Volksbühne. And then was Kuhle Wampe. This movie has been played there. It was one of the last things in Berlin before Hitler came. And it is still famous, this film.

WESCHLER: How would you evaluate Brecht's reputation in Berlin just before he had to leave? Was he the top playwright in Berlin at the time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Of course The Threepenny Opera made him famous there, but it was too short a time to live up to it, to have any outside success. He was not so much known in Berlin. Also the people were very much divided. Some didn't like what he wrote at all, and some were absolutely for him.

WESCHLER: Was Kerr against him the entire time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, always. Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: Okay, some other people to talk about: Heinrich Mann was in Berlin at this time also.

FEUCHTWANGER: Heinrich Mann--we didn't see him very often. You know, Berlin in those days was for us a very big city. We lived in the outskirts and Heinrich lived--I don't even

know where he lived. He had always only one room, a private room or so. When he came to Berlin he was very much in love with a cabaret artist [Trude Hesterberg]. He was always with her; he didn't go with others. He was not seen anywhere else, always sitting there where she--and this has also to do with The Blue Angel. That was the story of The Blue Angel. Once he wanted to see us. (He always wrote postcards; he didn't even telephone.) He wrote a postcard, "Can I come on this-and-this day?" So my husband wrote back that we would be very happy to see him. Then he didn't come. We prepared a very elaborate tea, because he liked to drink tea in the afternoon. He didn't want to go out in the evening because he was always at this cabaret. But nobody came. The next day came another card, "My cab driver didn't find it. How about meeting each other in a coffee house?" That was the end of it. [laughter]

WESCHLER: I've seen a remarkable photograph of a birthday party for him.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that was a big thing. It was his sixtieth birthday party. But there was neither his brother nor any of his family there. But it was a big, great affair in the Herrenhaus Academy (that is a state building). And there were many French people there. He was very well known in France. On the table where we were sitting, on my right side was cultural attaché of the French Embassy [Julien

Luchaire], and on the other side was my husband. I have a picture where Lion is speaking; he is standing. And [Carl] Zuckmayer was also there, and his wife [Alice], but you see him only from the back. It's a round table.

WESCHLER: The rivalry from a distance between Thomas and Heinrich continued in Berlin?

FEUCHTWANGER: It seemed so, ja. Because then he left his wife [Maria Kanova] and divorced her and was in Berlin. This divorcing I never could understand. I think it was friends who brought them apart. Because his wife--I didn't know if she was unfaithful, but somebody told him that she was unfaithful. There were people who just wanted to separate them. And then he finally believed it probably and left for Berlin.

WESCHLER: How would you evaluate the comparative reputations of Heinrich Mann and Thomas Mann in Berlin in the twenties?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, Thomas Mann was just a name, but not a person, you know. It was a name. It was a man who had one--only one novel was famous in Germany; that was Buddenbrooks--and he got the Nobel Prize. That was all: nobody knew more about him.

WESCHLER: The Magic Mountain was not as important in Germany?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was not as successful as in America. It was successful but only Buddenbrooks was really the book

of [his fame]. I remember that I was even present when somebody said, "Your best book was really Buddenbrooks." You could see that he was stung when he heard that.

WESCHLER: By contrast, Heinrich Mann's reputation was....

FEUCHTWANGER: Heinrich Mann was enormously famous. He had--first, already he had written books which were great successes and brought also much money. He even supported Thomas Mann for a while. And then he wrote a book that was called The Subject, Der Untertan. The subject of that was a man who is an industrial man, very philistine and at the same time very--not sexy but interested in sex in a small way, in a not-clean way. This book was forbidden during the kaiser and only came out after the revolution. It was an enormous success. It was, I think, the first book in Germany which was very satirical; his name was Carl Sternheim. He was very famous also in Germany for his plays, which had very much similarity with the Untertan. I never found out who influenced whom, those two. Sternheim was rather curious. He wrote a play, Don Juan, about Don Giovanni, which was in verses and very pathological and imitation-classical, and it had no success at all--people even laughed. Then he found out that if he would do the same thing intentionally, then it would be great. And that was finally his great success. Instead of being a serious classic playwright, he did the same thing in a little bit caricature, and

then it was his greatest success--satirical.

WESCHLER: Another person to talk about is Arnold Zweig.

FEUCHTWANGER: Arnold Zweig was a great writer and a great--
what shall I say? He could tell tales.

WESCHLER: Raconteur.

FEUCHTWANGER: Raconteur, that was the word.

WESCHLER: I'll even give you French words. [laughter]

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. That's a very difficult--also in German it is used, this word. In this way he could also write books, you know. It was like talking; it was not stylized at all. It was rather verbose sometimes, but the persons were always so interesting, and he had the gift to make people alive. And also he had to say something. His greatest success was then The Case of Sergeant Grischa. This was a great book. The good thing was also that he was so open-minded about other people who wrote. For instance, he wasn't jealous about my husband's success, which was much bigger than his success. He shared that with him. This also was a little bit for my husband--he spoiled him. So my husband always thought when he speaks about his success everybody would enjoy that. But people didn't enjoy that at all, and the Thomas Manns always spoke about him that he is always speaking about his successes. He was so naive that he thought because Brecht and Arnold Zweig, his best friends, enjoyed his successes.... He could tell them now

this book is in this language, translated in another language at the same time, and he was always himself so surprised about his success that he took it as if it would have been for another person. He was not vain or so. He just was surprised that he who had so long waited for a success and also written for so long, that all of a sudden he fell into success.

WESCHLER: Did Arnold Zweig live near you?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was not so near but we could [get there] by car, or even take another kind of vehicle--the subway, or the buses and all kinds. It was very difficult to go there. Even with the car it was rather long. But you could walk there, make a cut through the open landscape, and there it was maybe in three-quarters of an hour that we could be at his house. Sometimes he came walking to our house to pick us up and bring us to his house; we drank tea there, and when we went back he always accompanied us halfway back also. We always walked to one of the houses of each other. On our way we always had the most interesting conversation. He told the plot of his novels and [was] very fascinating when he spoke about it.

WESCHLER: You had mentioned one novel in particular he was talking about.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, one novel which was De Vriendt [Goes Home] [De Vriendt Kehrt heim]. It was sensational almost,

the plot, and gripping. But when the book came out, it was a little disappointing. It still had a success, a certain success, but not as much as Sergeant Grischna. Later on he had those novels which were, several novels, Erziehung vor Verdun (Education Before Verdun) and The Making of a King, I think it's called [Einsetzung eines Königs]--two novels. And he wrote part of it already in exile. He had very bad eyes, and he brought the manuscript to Sanary where we lived; he also dictated there part of it. And then I read the proofs for him sometimes, because he couldn't read very much what he wrote. Sometimes the sentences or so didn't end the way they should have. I'm not a great grammarian either, but when I read his [work], I told Zweig, "I cannot let that through. That's not German; you have to make that otherwise." So he was sometimes angry, but finally he knew that I was right. It was always a good friendship.

WESCHLER: Speaking of blindness, you had told me some interesting stories about James Joyce.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, James Joyce we met in Paris. That was in the twenties. We were just walking on the Champs-Élysées--we did that daily (you had to do that: that's Paris)--and somebody jumped up from an open-air restaurant café which is on the Champs-Élysées--Fouchettes, I think it was called. That was my husband's publisher from America, Ben Huebsch.

We knew that; we met him there before. But he was sitting there with James Joyce, who was a good friend of his. But Joyce was already blind. Then they sang together. Joyce had drunk a little bit, even in daytime some champagne, and so he would shout; he sang Wagner operas loudly. Both were music critics once (so was Shaw). So we were sitting there and talking, and he was very amiable. But, of course, he didn't see; he couldn't see us.

WESCHLER: Had Lion read Joyce?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, of course.

WESCHLER: In English or in translation?

FEUCHTWANGER: In English, never--if it wasn't Russian, of course, Lion never read in translation.

WESCHLER: And was he impressed, or what did he think of it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was very much impressed. It was also--Joyce had great influence then. But my husband was not so much influenced, because the influence on Joyce and on my husband were the same: it was [Sigmund] Freud, in a way, ja.

WESCHLER: Joyce would be the first to deny that, but...

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: ...but it was probably quite true. Was Joyce very influential in general in German letters? Was he read by Germans?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he was not much known in Germany. He was more known in America, I think, although he was forbidden there. But in Germany he wasn't much known. Zweig was very much influenced by Freud. Also they were friends, and there is a great correspondence between Freud and Arnold Zweig. My husband was also influenced--everybody was influenced, I think, even without knowing it. But sometimes my husband [maintained] that many things which they say are Freud had happened before; for instance, Dostoevski was very much like Freud in his writing.

WESCHLER: Sure. Well, Freud is the first to point that out. Freud is always pointing to previous artists. He's the one who named it an "Oedipus complex," which in itself is [an act of homage].

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, that's true. But that was before Freud said that that my husband had found it in his way.

WESCHLER: Had Lion ever met Freud?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, they never met. You know, as I told you, Europe was a big continent, and when somebody was in Austria, he was not so much known--or it was just that they didn't meet. The Austrians were a little bit like the French: they didn't go away from their country. They were very contemptible against Berlin and against Munich, so you couldn't see those people who were from Austria, except when you went to Austria yourself. And we came only much later to

Austria.

WESCHLER: But Freud had a good reputation in Berlin? He was well known, of course.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes. Ja, ja. But only by sophisticated people. He was not popular or so. His writings were not popular, but every writer knew about him.

WESCHLER: Well, I wanted to get back to your house. We've talked a good deal about things that went on in it, but we haven't really talked about it, how it got built and so forth.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was very funny. When I found this house, there were only the walls finished but nothing else, and then we changed a lot.

WESCHLER: Now where was it?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was in the Grunewald. The street was Gustav Mahler Strasse. There were only six houses on this street. It was mostly woods. It was built into the woods and forest. This street was later changed by the Nazis to Max Reger street, because Gustav Mahler was Jewish. I didn't have anything against Max Reger, who was a good Bavarian composer--he's still considered rather good--but they could have also named another street like that. This whole part of Berlin was, they called it the music quarter because there was [Ludwig] Spohr and [Franz Joseph] Haydn, and many, many musicians had the names of streets there. And [Edvard] Grieg, for instance. This house was thought for a

family house, but we had no children, so we could use the upper story--there were three stories--for gymnastics. In the open, it was a roof garden: we made a roof garden out of it, with a hot and cold shower and also some couches and things like that, just for making all the gymnastics and sunbathing.

Before we bought the house, we had no furniture, and I didn't like the furniture which I saw there in the furniture shops. So I went to the other side of Berlin, which is now in East Germany--it was the poor part of Berlin; it was really a kind of slum--and I found there the old junk shops and looked there for furniture. I saw that they had very interesting furniture there because people who wanted to have modern furniture got rid of their "junk" there. Those were all Biedermeier (that was around 1800, the beginning of the last century). This was a very beautiful style of furniture, although every country had a different [style]. There was a Viennese Biedermeier, the Bavarian Biedermeier, the Berlin Biedermeier, and the Danish Biedermeier. The Danish Biedermeier was mostly mahogany, and the Bavarian and the Viennese were more maple (but another kind of maple which is much harder than here; it's very beautiful, more like walnut). And the Viennese Biedermeier was too much ornamented; I didn't like that too much. It was with those lyres, you know, when all the backs of the chairs had lyres. And Munich was very beautiful, very simple. People had not

so much money to make it so ornate. And then the most beautiful was the Danish. And I found there--I would say, "Don't you have some furniture, more than that?" And then the people would say, "Oh, yes. We have it in the cellar." So we had to go in the cellar, sometimes two stories down into the earth. There was no light except candlelight, and you fell over the whole thing, it was so dark. It was really eerie there. And also some were moldy sometimes. It was very moldy there. Sometimes you could not buy those things because they were not good anymore; they were rotten almost. But I found the most beautiful things there. Also mahogany beds and double beds and divans, Madame Récamier divans from old castles. When people wanted new furniture, they threw those out. Also I found a beautiful Persian rug there, very beautiful, very valuable later.

One of those dealers was a very nice man, very simple. He was a Seventh-Day Adventist, and he never asked much money for those things. He was just glad when somebody had sense for those things. He didn't want to make much money, he was so pious, but [he was] also very liberal. One day he asked me when I paid him, and I wrote my name somewhere--you didn't pay a check, you paid only cash, but I gave him my address--and so he said, "Oh, Feuchtwanger...."

TAPE NUMBER: XIV, SIDE ONE

AUGUST 1, 1975

WESCHLER: When we left off last time, we were in the middle of a story about an antique furniture dealer, a Seventh-Day Adventist, from whom you were buying some Biedermeier furniture.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, and also he had beautiful Persian rugs, which he bought usually at auctions. He was very glad to have them; he was not even very eager to sell them. He was an Adventist, and he was not for richness. He was a very simple man, and very kind. You don't find them like that anymore. So when I told him the address where I lived, because I bought lots of those Persian rugs and furniture, then he recognized my name and said, "Oh, is that Mr. Lion Feuchtwanger who wrote the novel Jud Süß?" I said yes. He said, "You know the Jews in the east...." That was in east Berlin; before the war that was a kind of slum, and the poor Jews who had to flee from the Russian pogroms were settled there mostly, in the poor part of Berlin. He knew a lot of them because his shop was also in the slums. So he said, "You know, the Jews in my environment, in my neighborhood, they are very unhappy about the book. They say Feuchtwanger is an anti-Semite, because he speaks about the rich Jew, the one who was in the government with a bad duke in Württemberg." So they thought he is an anti-Semite.

He asked me if that is true. Then I told him it couldn't be true because my husband is a Jew himself. Although there happen some instances of anti-Semite Jews, too, that is a rarity. It's not the average Jew. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, you were telling me at the end of last session, off of the tape, about a particular chair from that group.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I discovered a chair which I found very beautiful. It was Biedermeier, with those simple lines which began with the Biedermeier time after the rococo and around 1800, the beginning of the nineteenth century. This chair was called an ear-chair, because on both sides of the back were like ears, so you could lean your head to the side. And Brecht was always sitting in this chair when he was working with my husband, and he was so enthusiastic about it.

"Couldn't you find a similar chair for me?" I tried, but it was the only one I found, and he always said, "Oh, if I only had such a chair." So finally I said, "For God's sake, take it with you!" [laughter] And when I came back to Berlin, after I had been invited by Willy Brandt's government, I was, of course, at the theater of the Berliner Ensemble, in the office of Brecht, where he was sitting and making his plays and his direction. And there was this chair. I was sitting in this chair, and I realized that not only was I very proud that he wrote so much in this chair, so much

of his work, but also I realized that it was the only thing which was left from our house, our furniture and our fortune and everything. So in a way I had this sentimental observation. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, before we started today you had had some memories back to the early days of the Munich revolution, which we now want to record, particularly about Bruno Frank.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. Bruno Frank helped Kurt Eisner when he spoke the first time to a big meeting or demonstration in the open air where usually the famous Oktoberfest was taking place. He spoke glowingly. But there were no loudspeakers in those days, so he had to shout very much, and he had not a very strong voice. So Bruno Frank, who had a sonorous voice, spoke after him and had much acclaim. He said, "We want to have a dignified revolution. We don't want any blood, and we don't want any violence. And you have to help us to do that, [to assure] that this takes place like that." And also Toller spoke in the same line.

WESCHLER: Was that met with popular enthusiasm?

FEUCHTWANGER: Absolutely, both of them, even more than Eisner, who was admired but he was--he didn't look so much. But Frank was a wonderful appearance, you know, and Toller looked like a real poet, very pale, with black, wavy hair. He was a very interesting looking man. Both had much success

with women. But this was not the case at this time.

[laughter]

Anyway, after that, Frank and Toller helped the government as good as they could. I think Toller wrote speeches, and Frank was at the department of the food stamps, so that there would be in a way a just distribution. And so also those people who were not revolutionaries would get their food. And once there came a man in: he was beautifully dressed in a large robe, and it turned out that it was Nuncius [Eugenio] Pacelli, the papal nuncio--the ambassador, it is called. He was also the archbishop of Munich, and his palace was very near to this royal palace where Frank was sitting in his department. He came to Frank and said in a very shy voice, "May I have the butter stamps still as I had before?" And this man was later the Pope Pius [XII].

WESCHLER: He was so shy because he was....

FEUCHTWANGER: He was afraid that he was persona non grata with the revolution because the clergy and the church blessed the soldiers who went to war; they were very much on the side of the emperor. Nobody would have been on the side of the revolutionaries, who wanted peace.

WESCHLER: Do you have any other memories of Pope Pius in Munich during those days?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, we left Munich then. So I don't know so

much about it.

WESCHLER: Was he there during the war, do you know?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was there during the war, and he blessed the soldiers who went to war to kill the other soldiers.

And that was no virtue in our mind. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Okay. You also have a story about you yourself needing a pass.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, that was a little later. But during the revolution, there was another thing: There was a man [Ernst von Bassermann] who was a cousin of the famous actor [Albert] Bassermann who came here because he couldn't stand the Nazis (he was non-Jewish, and it wasn't necessary for him to leave Germany). This man was a professor of philosophy and very rich and had a beautiful palace in the suburbs of Munich. He was very smitten with me--I don't know why. I think I looked so sinful. He was very pious, and this always attracted the pious people. I often noticed that in the countryside, the pastor and the priest always wanted to speak with me. For them I was just a kind of symbol of sin. [laughter] He was at every first night in the theater where we also were, and we always spoke with each other. He was an enormous man, and he was a widower. I think I was the only woman who played any role in his life after the death of his wife. So he invited us very often to dinner. He had a very wonderful cook, a male cook, and

also the most beautiful wines, because he himself had vineyards on the Rhine. He invited us also after the revolution, and he said, "You know, I was very much afraid...." (He was a collector of watches, watches and clocks, the most famous collection in those times of watches and clocks: old watches which looked like eggs, and another clock which was even eerie. When you went in, he had it hanging in a rather dark room. And on the pendulum, there was one eye; it was going from one side to the other. It was very eerie, because you always felt the eye is watching you or following you. It was beautiful. He liked always to bring me in this room because I found this so exciting. [laughter] It was called "The Eye of God," this clock. That's the name; it was a famous name.) So during the revolution he invited us and said, "You know, I was very much afraid that they would ravage my house and plunder it and maybe even destroy things. And they came also to my house because they went to all those villas of rich people. But they just asked for money and if they could get something to eat. Then they left. I gave them some wine," he said, "and then they left." He was so astonished that he wasn't killed and not everything was destroyed.

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Von Bassermann-Jordan. He was a nobleman. And Bassermann was the famous actor.

WESCHLER: I see. Well, you still have to tell the story about the pass.

FEUCHTWANGER: And the other story. Did I tell the other story of Rilke?

WESCHLER: No.

FEUCHTWANGER: Mühsam was a kind of chief of police, during the Räteregierung. He was a very good friend of Rainer Maria Rilke and a great admirer of him, and he was also.... Even when they always preached not to plunder, there could happen something: soldiers could drink or so. So he sent one of his soldiers to the apartment where Rainer Maria Rilke lived, and put a sign on his door, where it says, "It's not allowed to plunder in the house of Rainer Maria Rilke." And nobody plundered. You know, that's the way they made revolution in Munich.

WESCHLER: This was a revolution with class.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. [laughter]

WESCHLER: You still have to tell us the story of the pass.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that was also during the Räteregierung. There was curfew, and nobody was allowed to be on the street after eight o'clock--also to avoid murder or whatever, you know, rape. But we were invited by a man who was a black marketeer. We were always so hungry we would have even accepted an invitation from the Mafia. So we went there with a little bit of a bad conscience, because he made his money

first in the war, as a war profiteer, and then he was a revolution profiteer. Still, we went there. And this night he also invited us again, and we couldn't go out. So my husband went to the Wittelsbach Palais, the same house where Frank before was, and asked for a pass. Then he got a written document, a little piece of paper where it said, "Possessor of this has the right for free intercourse, signed, the Cheese Distribution."

WESCHLER: A very handy thing to have.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, we were very glad, and it helped. We were stopped. We had a taxi to go to this man, and we were stopped. And then my husband showed the soldier this pass, and then it was just right.

WESCHLER: What was the German word for "free intercourse"?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was "das Recht auf freien Verkehr," [which] also means free movement; but it also meant the same thing, you know. [laughter] But it wasn't meant like that: it just came out. They didn't know better German. They were simple people.

WESCHLER: Well, what do you expect? They were just the Cheese Department.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that was signed "the Cheese Department." And those were workmen or so who gave those out.

WESCHLER: Well, let's leave that revolution and come back to Berlin. One thing you told me off the tape, but which

I'd like you to tell for the tape, is the story of the actual building of your house. You told me that was very difficult.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was very difficult because it was a time of unemployment. That's why there were so very few workmen there, because it was not allowed to make overtime, so that there would be the work more distributed. But usually it was used by the contractors to make only buildings with which they made a lot of money, very big things. Because there was no overtime, they didn't want to take more workmen because they had to pay for the insurance. They had to pay for every workman. So they saved money if they had few workmen.

WESCHLER: You mean an unemployment insurance that they had to pay for their workmen?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was health insurance, ja, ja. This meant they didn't make so much profit when they had too many workmen, so the few workmen had to go to work. And since it wasn't allowed to make overtime, nothing was finished. And in this time there was a little theater built in the most important street, the Kurfürsten Damm, a new theater for Reinhardt, Die Komödie, the Comedy. This was a lot of money, of course, to build a theater, and all that went together to bring it off. So the same contractor who built my house also built this theater, and when the house

was almost finished, he had always less workmen. And they could just do what they wanted, you know. You had no rights. You couldn't go to court for that because they were in their law; they had the right not to have more workmen and had the right not to make overtime. So he sent his workmen always about, let's say, five o'clock to my house, and they left at six o'clock. And then he charged me for the whole day, because I had to sign the day, you know, the date. They were only one hour out there, and I had to pay for the whole day. We had also a suit afterwards. And we won the suit, because we could prove--we had so many witnesses--that they came only in the afternoon for one hour. But nothing was finished. My husband went abroad not to be disturbed too much by the noise and the workmen and the painting. You couldn't also move around in the house, because you would get paint on you. He wanted to come back and continue his work--it was about the time of Josephus, just when he had finished Success--but it just was impossible to work for him.

WESCHLER: You told me that one of your friends was particularly good at dealing with them.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, my friend who I met when I broke my rib.

WESCHLER: What was her name again?

FEUCHTWANGER: Maria Angelica Kuntz. And she came to see

me. She was my only really savior, because I couldn't shout with those workmen as she did. Anyway I was also afraid because there were already many Nazis around. You never knew if one was not a follower of the Nazis and they would have burned the whole house or something like that. Everybody was afraid, before the Nazis came to power already. They killed all the Communists they could get; there were no Communists on the street in the evening. They were all murdered by the Nazis long before the Nazis took over. When we came from our apartment to supervise the building, they were always lying under the pine trees and sleeping. Either they came at five o'clock, or they were sleeping. They did just what they wanted. And I didn't dare to challenge them. So she came and, like a sergeant, she went up and down the room with her hands in her pocket in her suit. She shouted with them really like a sergeant. And they just obeyed her. That was very familiar--that was like the Nazis, you know, this shouting--and they felt really that it was their part to play, that they do what the one who shouts tells them.

WESCHLER: So they responded to this woman sergeant.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, absolutely, ja.

WESCHLER: You also told me that after that, as a result of all your work, you went to Yugoslavia for a trip?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I was so overtired because I worked the

whole night through; I helped also with painting and all that so it would only go faster. And then came the gardener. The garden was only forest before. We had to make a garden out of the forest. We had even, what was very sad, to cut some pine trees, but there wouldn't have been any garden otherwise. But every pine tree which had to be cut was a wound in my heart. But with the garden making and so, I just was so overtired I couldn't sleep anymore. My nerves were worn out. So I decided to go and have a little rest outside of Berlin, and I went to Yugoslavia because that's the only time that there was still some sunshine and I could swim in the ocean. It was the end of October, I think, yes. Everywhere it was bad weather, and there it's usually a very beautiful fall, and it was very cheap. With third-class you could go there, even sleeping on the third-class berths. And when I was there....

WESCHLER: You went by yourself?

FEUCHTWANGER: I was all by myself. Really sleeping, and I lived in a private house so I could cook myself my meals in the kitchen. And this private house was the most beautiful thing. I wanted to go first in the hotel where we were before, my husband and I, but this hotel was shut down. It was no business anymore.

WESCHLER: What town was this?

FEUCHTWANGER: That was Ragusa first, and now it's Dubrovnik. I cooked there my meals. The house was even much more beautiful than the hotel, lying on a cliff directly down into the ocean with a big, flat rock where you could lie in the sun. There was no sand beach: it was just rocks, but flat rocks so you could sun. From there I was always swimming to the other side of the island of--I don't remember now the name but it will come [Lacroma]. Anyway I was swimming and running around and making mountain climbing--hill climbing, you would say--and I really felt that I got my strength back.

Then, when I wanted to go back, on the same day something happened which never happened before: the Bank of England had a failure, and they devalued the shilling in a most resolute way. All the English people who were there--they also came in the fall because they knew it's warmer than in England--just from one day to the other they had no money anymore, because nobody wanted to take their English money. Nobody had changed the money before they left; they always changed the shilling--it was much more profitable to change in the country. Yugoslavia was very cheap; it was a very primitive country then. So they couldn't pay their hotels; they couldn't buy anything to eat, not even their ticket back. I saw them when I was at the bank also to change money to get my ticket. I saw them there, and I was admiring how they behaved. You know, like there was nothing

changed: they were as polite as before; they didn't show any disconsolation or fright or whatever it was--just absolutely astounding how they behaved. Finally probably the English counsel helped them come out, but the first day it was such a disaster. And the Bank of England was considered like the Rock of Gibraltar. It was a proverb to say, "This is secure as the Bank of England."

WESCHLER: You were in Yugoslavia and that was fairly near Italy: did you have any contacts with Italians?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, when I went back, there was an Italian lieutenant from the army with me in the same compartment, and we spoke about the political events in those days. He said, "We have Fascism, and I can tell you it is something terrible. I am still in the army; I have no other means to live. And we are always afraid." Then he said, "You know, two people who are together are anti-Fascist, but three are Fascist because no one knows if the other wouldn't be a denouncer." And then he said, "The worse thing is that we cannot go out of the country. When you go out of the country, everything will be impounded, your fortune and everything, or confiscated. You cannot come back anymore, because it's too dangerous, when you were out once, what would happen to you."

And this probably saved my life, because when I was out of the country--when Hitler came to power, I was skiing in

Austria, in Tyrol--I wanted to go back at first, to save as much as I could. But then I read very soon that my husband was known in America to speak against Hitler--it was in all the newspapers--and that he was condemned to death. So if I had come back to Germany, they probably would have made me prisoner as a kind of hostage to get my husband, who would surely have come and tried to get me out. So I didn't go back to Germany. I heard also that it was the only thing to do, because all the people would have immediately been taken prisoner.

Then happened something else. I was not living in a hotel, because every day in the morning already I was up in the mountains and I was only in my room to sleep, and why should I pay a grand hotel's big prices? Also the food was not so much for my taste because I was more or less a vegetarian. So I lived in a very nice building, in a little house, and the man [who owned it] turned out later was the only Nazi in the whole village. Leni Riefenstahl lived also in this house. She was there to make a snow movie. I am also one of the spectators; I have been taken as a spectator in this snow movie.

WESCHLER: As an extra, you mean?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no, I was just there standing and they took me. Because I knew all the people who made this movie.

WESCHLER: Did you, by the way, meet Leni Riefenstahl?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, of course, but she began right away to be so enthusiastic about Hitler that you couldn't speak with her. That was before Hitler came.

WESCHLER: Could you talk about that a little bit, because that's a controversy now about her.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Her eyes turned always to heaven when she spoke about Hitler; she was just hysterical about Hitler. And also she was at the same.... I always took lessons: we had a kind of class for skiing, and I was mostly in the second class. They always sent me to the first class, but there were only men in it, and that was too much for me. I couldn't always follow them, you know. So I liked to be the best one in the second class rather than the last one in the first. And Hannes Schneider always said, "You are good enough; you have to go with me in the first class." And all those young students and so, I just--if there had been other girls, that would be something else, but I was the only girl. They were very nice with me, but I didn't like that, that the others had to wait until I come down slowly or something. So I was in the second class, and I was a good skier there, and the teacher very much liked me. He was a peasant, you know, a very witty man, a man down to earth. And there was also Leni Riefenstahl with me. She made this movie, so she had always to make some kind of practice skiing. But she was terrible cowardly. She just

couldn't follow us, although for many years she was skiing and I was more or less a novice. So when we made a descent, a rather steep hill or something, then the teacher [Herr Spiess] always told me, "Ach, we go ahead. You take care of Leni. She cannot follow us, so you wait for her." You could not let anybody alone on a hill or on a mountain. So I always had to wait until she slowly came down, very carefully. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Did she know you were Jewish?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. Nobody took me as a Jew, but nobody spoke about it. I just didn't know.

WESCHLER: Was she anti-Semitic?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, she never spoke about it. She mostly had no time because her teeth chattered when she went.

[laughter] But on the other hand she was great in making the movie. I knew the photographer who was one of the prize skiers there, a champion. He was the photographer of the movie, and he told me that what she can stand through, nobody, not even a man can do it. It was terrible cold; there were snowstorms and blizzards. She never complained, and she always was there. She always went through and never excused herself. Of course, when there were difficult things to ski, there was a man who did it for her in her clothes or something. But she really had the sense of duty to what she did. She had also great successes, but I never believed

that she made the movies, because I knew the people who made the movies. Also they said that she made The Olympiad [Olympische Spiele 1936] and all those things, but I don't believe that, because I knew the people who made the movies.

WESCHLER: You mean who photographed them or...?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, photographed them and the whole thing, you know, to make them and to write the movies. One was even a Jew who made The White Hell of Pitz Palu, for instance. That was a Jew, a Viennese Jew who made it. I knew him also.

WESCHLER: Do you know his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not now, but I think maybe it will come back some day. Gomperz, I think, Gomperz. It's a Jewish name. And another one was Bela Balasz, an Hungarian name. But I think I will find out the names. Anyway, and then Balasz made the movies with the name of Fank. I read his name not so long ago here in a movie periodical. Not Frank but Fank. Then the man who was I think also a kind of photographer was [Hans] Schneeberger. He was a little man, but he was so fast you didn't see him when he came by, when he passed you. I always called him "the snow devil" and I said, "Didn't it smell some sulfur when he just came by?" [laughter] Because he was little and black and just fast like lightning. And those were the people who made the movies, but not she.

WESCHLER: Was she well known as a moviemaker at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: She is credited as having made this Olympia movie.

WESCHLER: Right, I'm saying at the time that she was making this movie....

FEUCHTWANGER: No, she didn't do anything. On the contrary, Hannes Schneider sometimes complained about her, that it so difficult because she doesn't dare to do anything. He said, "She will be a ski champion in the movies, and she is such a coward."

WESCHLER: Was she well known in Germany at that time for the movies that she was making?

FEUCHTWANGER: Before? No, not at all. Only through the snow movies. And she had a beautiful face. But I found her head a little bit too big for her body. The body was a little weak. She should have been a head taller: then she would have been better. But a beautiful face, a very classical face.

WESCHLER: Do you happen to remember the name of the movie that she was filming then?

FEUCHTWANGER: The Wonder of the Ski, or something; Die Wunder des Schneeschuhs, I think it was, ja, ja. It was the first ski movie ever made. Hannes Schneider was the instigator, and he was behind the whole thing. He didn't write the movie, of course, but he was with the director.

[Luis] Trenker was also always there. He's a very famous man; I still read about him. They didn't know that Trenker had an American wife, a young beautiful girl. She was very nice. We were skiing together very often. He wrote letters to Hitler full of admiration and things like that, I remember. Afterwards he was considered anti-Nazi. Maybe he was; maybe later he became anti-Nazi. I don't know. But in those times he was very much for Hitler. It was before Hitler came to power.

WESCHLER: How was Leni Riefenstahl, outside of her admiration for Hitler, just as a person to be with?

FEUCHTWANGER: She was considered very stupid. I couldn't say it, because I didn't speak much with her. I just had to take care of her. The teacher always called me Keppli, because Keppli is the name for a Basque beret, and I had such a cap. (In [Tyrol dialect], Keppli is a little word for Kappe.) So he said, "Oh, Keppli, you take care of Leni. She can never follow us, and I have to go ahead with the others." But we never spoke about it, because she was so scared. She just was careful not to fall or something. But when you ski--I always say a woman mustn't be afraid of falling. [laughter] I always say that. But it didn't help. But it was all what--I didn't speak very much with her. Hannes Schneider, who was a good friend of her (because he needed her and she needed him; she was the only

actress who could ski also in those times) he only told me that. He was a peasant, an unschooled man, but he was very intelligent, almost a genius. He always said, "Oh. she's so stupid. And also boring." But that's all what I know about her.

And then I wanted to tell you that this man who [owned the house].... That was just when Hitler came to power; I was skiing there, and I was living in his house. He was always beating his wife (that was the Nazi, the pride of the Nazis in this village). His wife had money, and he bought the house with the money of his wife. He was a drunkard, and everybody had contempt for him in the village. They were all against him. They were very much--they were nationalist Austrian, you know--against the Germans. One evening he came home and brought a newspaper from the border, from Württemberg, which was the border of Austria. He brought a newspaper home, and there it said, "We are waiting here on the border for Frau Lion Feuchtwanger. We know that she is skiing there. He maligned us in America, maligned the Nazis in America. She is living here, and we are just waiting for her. When she comes back to her house in Berlin, we will show her how to work, that she would learn to work." They would put me, they say, in a working camp. "We will show her not to live anymore in grand hotels, and to learn to work." And then he said, "You see, they write about

grand hotels, and you live here in my house. You sit here in my kitchen and cook your spinach, and they say you have to learn how to work and not to live anymore in grand hotels. So the Nazis are also liars." So he was the first convert.

[laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, you're very lucky he was a convert. My God, he could have turned you in.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he couldn't in Austria; he couldn't do anything. On the contrary, he warned me not to go back. If he hadn't brought this newspaper, maybe even with the warning of this anti-Fascist Italian, I would have gone back to save something. As many did. For instance, Erika Mann also went back, but she was not in danger because her father didn't say those things my husband said. For instance, Lion spoke about the book Mein Kampf, My Struggle; he said there are (I don't remember) so many words in this book, and there are as many mistakes against German grammar in this book.

WESCHLER: Mann said that?

FEUCHTWANGER: [No, Lion.] That was also written in the newspaper. Of course, it came immediately to Germany: he ridiculed the Führer, "The Leader." So that was the greatest danger. I didn't know that he said those things, of course; I only heard it later when my husband brought the newspaper from America.

WESCHLER: Well, we're getting a little bit ahead of ourselves,

and I want to get back to Berlin. Then we'll reach this point again. I had some questions still about your time in Berlin, and in particular about the library you were building up. We've talked about the fact that you did not have a large library in Munich.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, in Munich we had come from our wandering in the world, in Italy and in Africa, and my husband had to go to the army, and then we lost everything to the inflation. I had rather good money which I inherited, but this all went down the drain by the inflation. And also before, already in the war, everything was expensive. What we had and what my husband earned went for living and for the apartment. So we had not enough money to buy books in those days. Heinrich Mann always said, "The only book Lion Feuchtwanger possesses is one paperback." He even said what was less, that it was one Reklambuch, a very little paperback, very thin (it cost ten pfennigs, which is one cent of something). [laughter] Mostly classics were printed there. For me, in those days, to be printed as a Reklambuch was the greatest proof of fame. Later on, when my husband's books were also published in Reklam, I was very proud, much prouder than for everything else; when he got so many honorary degrees or something, it didn't make me so proud as when he was published in Reklam, where only the classics had been printed before that. [laughter]

But then my husband, of course, began already to get some books when we had this little apartment, but not many.

WESCHLER: In Berlin.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, in Berlin. And also I was very fortunate: I found so many beautiful furniture in those slums where I had to climb down in the cellars. There were only spider webs and rats around, and usually a man who didn't look very, didn't make much--I had not much confidence in the virtue of those men. But anyway I was eager to find those, and really there was a treasure of furniture, of eighteenth-century, nineteenth-century furniture. Sometimes they were moldy or so, but that could be repaired. We had to go down, and sometimes one cellar was underneath another even in those old houses. And we had only candlelight there. Sometimes I bought things which I couldn't see very well because other things were before; but it was so cheap, so I tried. I was very lucky. Those were all great works of art, wonderful things. And I could leave--I paid for it; it was a kind of confidence. I paid for it and left the furniture there. Everywhere. Also then I found something in antique shops which were not very fashionable. I found the most beautiful things--for instance, six chairs of maple which later the museum wanted to buy. The owner called me and said, "You know, the museum wants to have the six...."

WESCHLER: Which museum?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember.

WESCHLER: In Berlin?

FEUCHTWANGER: He only said, "The museum." It was probably the state museum or city museum. He said to me, "The museum wants to buy those chairs. Would you sell them?" I said, "Of course not. I am glad to have them." So they said, "Then would you allow that they make copies of them?" And I said, "I don't even charge for it." [laughter] They were really beautiful chairs. All that has been lost, of course. But I was so proud of it. And everywhere they allowed me, when I paid for it, to leave them there until we had the house finished. So I had not to take care of the furniture, where to put them, because in our apartment there would not have been room enough. Also I didn't have any moving van. And it was very cheap to move, because everybody sent his furniture to my house because I bought them; in buying a piece of furniture, you also have the right to [have them] bring the furniture to the house. So our moving was very cheap this way.

WESCHLER: Well, was it at that house that Lion began to accumulate the library?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, yes, and immediately, I built those bookshelves. They were built into the ceiling, and also many were built-in cases where the manuscript could go. Everything was invisible; even the typewriter could be

put in so you wouldn't see it. Also this took a lot of time, of course, and we had great difficulties with that, too. The carpenter who put them in--it was very good wood; it was all oak wood--finished it with some kind of oil. I didn't know about those things, what's right or what you do, but usually they use shellac because that seals the pores. But he took oil instead of shellac, maybe because shellac was too expensive and the price had first been fixed. So when the books came in, they became all oily. I was also again skiing. When something happened, I was always skiing. The secretary wanted him to sue the carpenter for damage so the books could be cleaned or whatever, and also for fixing the shelves right. I wouldn't have asked for damages, but I would have insisted that he fix it right with shellac. But the secretary really pressed Lion into suing him, and he lost the suit. He didn't really lose the suit, but [the carpenter] declared bankruptcy so there was nothing won. We would have won, but this was--and this man it turned out was a Nazi too. In those days, you didn't sue people, you know. I was very unhappy when I came home and there were all those suits around.

Another suit was with the people who made the hidden lights in the ceiling, which was very new then. I saw it at the Bauhaus, at the exhibition, and I found it beautiful to have the indirect light, mostly for the study. Those

people hadn't finished, and the workmen left. It was the same thing: the workmen just did what they wanted, and it wasn't finished. So when I was away--yes, it was the same time when I was skiing--my husband sued those too. They were very nice people, the firm, but they couldn't do anything with their workmen. They were afraid already of their workmen. My husband sued them because the secretary insisted, and then I had to fight through the whole thing. The judge was very much on my side despite the Nazi influence already, but my lawyer--I had a lawyer who was very incompetent; the secretary found him for my husband. The judge said to the lawyer, "You be quiet. Mrs. Feuchtwanger can explain that much better." Really. And then he said, "You know, I am a great admirer of your husband's Success." But nevertheless we couldn't win the suit because the man with whom I made the contract was the nephew of the owner and had not the right to sign the contract. I didn't know that, but he was a very nice man and very much afraid of his uncle, who was very tight. He wanted to be on my side--he wanted to help--so he signed the contract. He didn't want to ask his uncle, who maybe would have found something too cheap, or I don't know. So the uncle had the right, and we lost this suit because it was said that it was a work of God, or an act of God, because there was no workman to help who could finish it. So it led to nothing, all this suiting.

I always find it's much better to make compromises: even if you lose a little bit, you win on the other side. And people are much more willing to do something. The man to whom I lost, he came to my husband and apologized and said, "I just was so afraid of my uncle and it's true, I am the guilty man. I signed. I shouldn't have done it because I should have asked my uncle first."

TAPE NUMBER: XIV, SIDE TWO

AUGUST 1, 1975

WESCHLER: We're in Lion Feuchtwanger's Berlin library, and we just wanted to get some sense of it. Now, that library would not survive the Nazis--it was sold away after Lion was hounded out of the country--but what was that library like? What was in it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Well, it was more or less a contemporary library. There were all the classics, of course, the German classics, but not so many international, not other languages like in this library where all the languages of the other countries [are represented]--more or less German literature, old German and modern German literature. Very few in foreign literature.

WESCHLER: Were there any volumes that were as important as some of the volumes that are in this house?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course, he had some antique things he had accumulated, and later on, when he became known as a collector, also in France, then the big firms, the big houses of antique books, they sent their catalogs. And catalogs are very expensive--usually already then in those times they cost twenty-five dollars because they had woodcuts, steel etchings, and all that already, so people would know what they are buying--but my husband very rarely

had to pay for them because he was such a good customer. Later on, when he began to collect here, he got some books, mostly classics which were first editions, German classics, and he said, "I have the feeling I have possessed this already before. That was from my library in Berlin." But since he had no plate in it--now there is everywhere a bookplate, "ex libris"--so he could not prove it. But he had the feeling those books were rare and not many other people had collected them. So he bought back his own library in part.

WESCHLER: Do you remember any particular volumes that were important in his Berlin library?

FEUCHTWANGER: They were all important. First of all, the modern German authors gave all books with their dedications, you know, and these cannot be replaced, even if the books can be replaced. As I say, they were mostly classics, also Latin and Greek; those were mostly the antique books, Latin and Greek.

WESCHLER: Here you have a Nuremberg chronicle. Did you have one there?

FEUCHTWANGER: This has been only acquired here, the Nuremberg chronicle.

WESCHLER: You didn't have anything like that in that library?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, but the classics were very valuable because they were mostly first edition classics. We have also some here which maybe were in our library in Berlin; we don't know.

WESCHLER: How did it come about that Lion began collecting books?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he always liked books, of course, and his father had a very beautiful library (he had also a famous Hebrew library). But Lion never had the opportunity to have a real library until we were in Berlin and had a house. In the apartments, you couldn't have so many books.

WESCHLER: Okay. I wanted to talk a little bit now about some of Lion's own writings of this period, and, of course, the major work is Success.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, but I wanted also to speak a little bit about my role in his books, not only that I worked with him, but that he always wanted to depict me, he always wanted to write a novel about me. He always tried, but he said he couldn't do it, that I am too near to him. He cares too much. There is too much emotion. He could not see me in an objective way. So he always gave up. For instance, when he wrote Success, and I came back.... That was a year before I read those proofs, because he wrote three years on Success.

WESCHLER: From 1927 to 1930.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. So I came back from skiing, I think in '27 or '28, and he read to me what he has written in the meantime. He gave me one manuscript and said, "This I have written in your honor." And that was about skiing, about the heroine of the book when she was skiing. He

read it to me, and I was much flattered of course when he said he wrote it only for me. But I told him, "It's no good." It was not good: you know, you cannot write about skiing. It always becomes camp. Or sentimental. About nature and the white mountains and the pleasure of speed and things: everybody can write that, you know. And it didn't fit into the novel; it was too plain. I told him that. My heart broke, but I could persuade him, and he took it out. So it never has been printed. And I don't even know if it still exists, the manuscript.

WESCHLER: Do you recognize yourself in any other characters in any of his other novels?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he used myself almost in every character, in every woman character, but always only a part of me. He always said I am too complicated to make one person out of me, so he divided me in different persons. For instance, in one book [in the Josephus Trilogy] Berenice, the queen of Judea: he writes about her beautiful walk, and he said it was my walk which inspired him. That was even more complicated later because I had this terrible car accident which I will describe later (that was in '33, and he wrote the Josephus much earlier). And when I had this accident, then he.... He had written about the Queen Berenice of whom the Emperor Titus was smitten and felt himself so inferior. He, the emperor, when he was with her, she was

so much more cultured and civilized and refined that he felt like a parvenu, a nouveau riche or so. Then she had an accident. Titus always admired her when she came down the stairs in her regalia, but she had an accident and broke her leg and began to limp some. Then when I had this terrible accident, at first the doctors said that probably the leg had to be amputated below the knee, or if it could be saved that I would retain a limp. So Lion always said it was because he thought about me when he wrote about the Queen Berenice. He was not superstitious, but he made himself a big remorse that he wrote that. Finally I didn't limp, and also I didn't lose the leg. [laughter] But he said that during my whole sickness and when I was so much in danger, he couldn't forget that he depicted me as Berenice. And then sometimes there is another woman [Dorion] in Flavius Josephus: [with her] he only used my exterior but not my-- what shall I say?--my mind, or my personality. Only she looks like me. And then several other times he took part of me. Also in Josephus there are two wives. One is Mara, who is the first woman whom he divorces to become the aristocrat and accepted. He could not keep her because she was first taken from the Emperor Vespasian as loot. He married her, and this could not be done, that a girl who has been had by the emperor would be his wife. (Later he goes back to her at the end.) But she writes him always that he should take

care of his health and also eat always some salad. And that was of course [laughter] also me. Also the way as he saw her was very much inspired by me. But of course she was a girl of the people. So everywhere he took some traits of me and used them in other women.

WESCHLER: Well, getting back first of all to Success, the novel Success, what success did the novel Success have when it came out?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was a great success, but it also was terribly attacked. It was a controversial novel. Mostly it was attacked, of course, in Munich, and not only by the people in Munich but also by his best friends and by his brother who spoke against him. One of his brothers made a lecture against him.

WESCHLER: Which brother?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ludwig. He spoke against him, and the funny thing was that when he came back to Munich for a visit, he invited us for dinner--we heard that later, we didn't know it then--and his second wife (he was divorced from his first wife) told us that she liked so much the novel Success. Her husband spoke against it, but she didn't want that it seems....

WESCHLER: On what grounds did he speak against it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, they said he is ungrateful to the city which did so much for us and things like that. We too

liked to live there. It was Bruno Frank who had the great fight with my husband about his attitude against Munich. He also spoke about ingratitude. And it was so funny because I heard about it already before it was printed-- somebody, you know, of the grapevine. I heard that he spoke in Munich [against] the novel [although he said] that he was always a great friend of my husband and also admired his other novels. But I don't believe always those gossips, you know, I have to have proof. I didn't want to believe [this about] Frank, so I told Lion the best way to find out is we ask [Gustav] Kiepenhauer, who was the publisher, to ask Frank to write an introduction. And Frank wrote back that he is very busy at the moment and couldn't find the time and also, "What's the use of it? Feuchtwanger is known in the whole world, already famous in England and America. Who would know about me?" So he declined to write. So we knew that it was true. But it was really-- it was not because he was personally against Lion; he just didn't want that somebody writes against Munich.

WESCHLER: It wasn't so much against Munich as against the Nazis, though, was it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course. But the Nazis were there, and they closed their eyes. They didn't want to see it. They didn't want that somebody opened their eyes.

WESCHLER: It's curious. When we were talking about the

Hitler putsch, you said that Lion had almost taken it-- hadn't taken it very seriously, had not thought it was terribly important. He slept through the night and so forth.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, because he always found Hitler so ridiculous. He didn't believe in the danger. I must say that was a fault in his foresight. Because in many things he was so right: what he wrote in the novel, it was-- everything came, happened even worse. And also in [Die Geschwister] Oppermann, for instance--that was in '33 and it came worse afterwards--but he had already the view of it. But at first he took Hitler not seriously. He thought also that when you ridicule somebody, like Aristophanes did in Greece, that would help the movement against him. But it didn't help at all: in Germany, the ridiculous is not....

WESCHLER: People went for someone if he was ridiculed in Germany.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja.

WESCHLER: The tone however in which Hitler is treated in Success is not so much one of ridicule; it's more serious.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, but nobody knew, of course. My husband saw those ridiculous situations when Hitler threw himself to the ground after bragging so terribly, mostly after speaking about the cowardness of the Jews, how he himself threw himself down--what was the only sensible thing to do--

it just was that the situation was so comical. So he just didn't take him seriously.

WESCHLER: But in the novel Success, Hitler is taken more seriously.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, more, but still not enough. There were many people who were against the Nazis who found that it was not enough against the Nazis, you know. But he just wrote how he felt. I think it's anti-Nazi enough. He thought when you overdo it, it would be--sometimes it would...

WESCHLER: ...be counterproductive.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja.

WESCHLER: Do you have any other stories about Success?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, but I have another story which has something to do with this anti-Semitism of Jewish cowardness. There was a comic like Valentin--not as great as Valentin; he was more down to earth, less sophisticated. He was very popular, much more popular than Valentin.

WESCHLER: Who was this? What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: His name was Weiss-Ferdl; that means Ferdinand Weiss. But Ferdl is a shortcut for...and when somebody looked with love, then they sometimes put the short name after his familial name. So Weiss-Ferdl, they called him. He called himself like that. He was very popular with the lower people of Munich. And he knew Hitler also personally. He was once present when--Hitler

came very often to the beer locale, the big pub where he was playing. Hitler was a great admirer of him and of his wit or humor. But he was from the beginning against Hitler. He had a feeling that there is something very bad coming. He wrote a book [Erzaehlt]. (I cannot get the book anymore. I tried my best to get it; every money I would have paid. But I can [show you a copy].) Anyway, he was very frightened when they told him that Hitler comes always to hear him. But he couldn't do anything about it. And when Hitler was already in power; it was very short after he came to power. Weiss-Ferdl was invited by Hitler to his fortress in the Alps. Hitler spoke with him and spoke about the cowardness, cowardly behavior of the Jews in the war. And then Weiss-Ferdl said to him, "I think you are mistaken, Mr. Hitler. I can prove the contrary. For instance, the brother of the famous writer Lion Feuchtwanger, who wrote Jud Süß, was with me in my regiment. He was lying beside me in the trenches, and he was the most courageous of all of us. He was even so daring that he took a whole trench from the French and brought all the French soldiers back. He had a bet with his officer, his superior. This superior said the trenches were empty--they didn't hear anything--and he said, 'I bet that there are still soldiers there; they are still there, the French.' So he went there with some hand grenades and hid himself in a

big crater. He hid himself and threw from this hiding place the hand grenades and shouted in different voices, high and low, and so those French people thought there is a whole lot, a company there. From all sides came those hand grenades, and they went out with their hands up and said, 'We surrender!' That was a whole trench. He said, 'You go back and take your guns, and then I take you with me as prisoners.' So he came with all the prisoners behind him with their guns." And that was what Weiss-Ferdl has seen because he was with him.

WESCHLER: And what did Hitler have to say about that?

FEUCHTWANGER: And Hitler said, "Oh, there could be an exception." But he was very embarrassed and very hateful; he looked very hateful at him, but he didn't do him anything because he, Weiss-Ferdl, was too popular. I have the proof of that because [Trude Feuchtwanger], the widow of this brother, this younger brother, she lived in South America. Then with our help she came to Miami, and she lives there. She's old now. She lives in a senior citizen house or something. And she sent me a copy of this book, you know, this page, one of the book of Weiss-Ferdl where he writes that. She said, "I have it here, and it doesn't do any good to me. Maybe you could do anything with it." So I sent it also to the biographer, I don't know if he uses it in his biography, but anyway we can use it here. But

this is, of course, in German; we have to translate it also.

WESCHLER: Do you have any other memories about Success?

FEUCHTWANGER: That has nothing to do with Success, in a way, but still it's about the time when it has been written. No, I only know that also the publisher was very unhappy about mixed critics which came: either they were very enthusiastic, where they say this book is due a long time; but others say this book is not serious enough, that the danger is too great and shouldn't be taken too light, and that it is too optimistic; and others were that he was so much against Bavaria. So it was a controversy. It was not a big financial success. It was a good success, you know, but nothing sensational. The publisher [Kiepenhauer] was very unhappy. He had had the first printing of The Ugly Duchess after it was in this book club. This Ugly Duchess came after Jud Süß--it was the second edition--and it was an enormous success, because Jud Süß was in between. So he gave my husband a great advance, because he wanted him as his author. My husband could have had any publisher he wanted, so he gave a great advance to my husband, but he never could get this advance back for a long time. He always came to my husband complaining that he made such a bad deal with him with Success. So I was bold maybe: I told my husband, "Why do you take that from

him? He was glad to have The Ugly Duchess. He made much money from that. It's not your fault that Success is not more successful financially." So I said, "I think you have to look for another publisher who is not always in your ears, that you have to hear his complaints." I think it was not the right thing from the publisher to do it. The author is not responsible; he was not forced to take it, you know.

So my husband went and spoke with [Emil] Hertz, who was the director of the big Ullstein monopoly (it was an empire, a newspaper empire). Mr. Hertz was not only the director of the publishing house of the Ullsteins, but also he was a kind of social director; he made big social events in his house for the publishing house. And there was Vicki Baum and Remarque, and all the people who had some name were always in his house for wonderful dinners. We never heard about such dinners before--game, wild game and things like that, which were excellently prepared. And then he said to my husband, "Why don't you come to us? We want you as our author." And my husband said, "Yes, I have this book at Kiepenhauer's." "But you have no contract for other books. You come now. We want you as our author." It was Remarque who was the first author. And so that's what I told you, I think. I have here the map from Berlin. He lived very near to our house; all the Ullsteins

lived around there. One day he came in the morning. My husband was still asleep. He came from his house, through the forest, into our garden, from there to the terrace of my husband's bedroom. It was much shorter than to go around the whole streets, because we lived on another street and here he could make a shortcut through the woods. He came to my husband, who was still asleep, and said, "I wanted to speak with you. I want to make a contract with you now about Flavius Josephus." So the contract was made in the early morning without any lawyer or anything, nothing written. They both trusted each other and it was a wonderful relationship. And even then, when he was here--he lived in Rochester, I think, near New York--we never saw him anymore, but we were always corresponding. And now I even correspond with his daughter still. The daughter wrote me, said I wouldn't know her but that she knew me, because when her father gave this big party, she was a little girl, and she was upstairs and was looking always who's coming. She saw me and described my dress which I had. She said I had made such an impression, a dress which was wrapped around, very tightly around my body, and she found that so beautiful, with a train. [laughter] She wrote me those things.

WESCHLER: Well, maybe we should talk a little bit about Flavius Josephus and how that came about.

FEUCHTWANGER: The first idea came to Lion when we were hiking through Italy in 1912 and we went to the Forum and through the Arch of Titus, which was built after Titus has destroyed Jerusalem. And there inside of the arch is a relief which shows the triumphal procession: the people--they are probably Jews--have to carry on long staffs the beautiful things of the temple, everything what is needed in a temple, the menorah and all that, the Torah. All this is on this relief, and also they are in chains. And this made such an impression on Lion that it always followed him. This was the nucleus of his writing the novel about Flavius Josephus.

WESCHLER: Did he continue to talk about that idea through the years?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he always talked about that. He always felt he is not yet right; he himself didn't feel himself right to write that. First of all, in the beginning, when he was a playwright, he never took it too seriously, his writing. He was always interrupting so long, we made long trips and so. When we had money, he left writing and wanted to see the world, which also was not a bad idea. But when he began with the novels--although The Ugly Duchess, he had not taken too seriously this novel; it was more kind of interest in this woman who is ugly and who makes something out of ugliness--but Jud Süß (which he wrote before)

that novel was very near to him, and he felt for the first time that he was a novelist and he couldn't do anything else but write novels. And then the third novel was Success, which was absolutely new to him and also absolutely new for Germany, because nobody before had written a political novel. [Even] during his writing, he knew that it would be very controversial, but he did what he found he has to do. He never made compromises, mostly not for Success. That's why Success is in--what do you call it?

WESCHLER: In quotation marks?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, a kind of quotation mark: success is something relative. That is meant with the title.

And then there is another story. My husband dropped [the other section], you know; he only speaks about Anna, that she goes skiing. But the whole chapter or paragraph has been dropped, you know. But then he wrote part of it--you read the novel?

WESCHLER: No, I haven't read Success. I've looked at it.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. Because there is a part in Biarritz, part of the plot. Biarritz is very far away from Bavaria, and I found when he told me that he wants to write about Biarritz, where we were, also about his impressions and so, I said I think it is cutting into the mood of the book and also the unity of the Bavarian interior. The geographical [unity] is broken, and that is maybe even detrimental

to it. But he said, "I try it. I will write it, and then you can tell me what you think." So he wrote it, and then he wrote one short story in this [chapter], and this is about a bull in the bullring. This is such a great short story-- I must look if I have it. It's a very short short story, but it's so wonderful and so great that I said, "For this short story, I even think you can break the mood and the architecture and the style and everything, because you cannot lose this short story." So it has been kept, and this short story has been printed many times separately from the novel.

WESCHLER: I see. Getting back to Josephus, what kind of relation do you see in the task of writing that novel to what was going on at that time? Of course, the whole paradox of Jewishness....

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it has not so much to do with the actual happenings. It has to do much more with the history of the Jews, I would say, not with the happening of contemporary happening. Also it has to do with his attitude against nationalism in those days, because he was always called a cosmopolite. Josephus writes a psalm in this Josephus which is called the "Psalm of the Cosmopolite." This is also what Peter Korn wants to compose.

WESCHLER: The composer, Peter Jona Korn?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Lion has not been printed in Russia

for a while because they were very much against cosmopolites when they were very nationalistic. The book has been printed in Russia, but afterwards there was a cooling period, and they didn't print for a long time the books. But finally when the cooling period was over, then they printed again all the books. There is not a single book which they did not print. And the most, the greatest success afterwards was The Jewess of Toledo, which is still an enormous success in Russia. When somebody comes from Russia to see me, they always tell me that The Jewess of Toledo is the most wanted book there. And also in Holland and in Czechoslovakia.

WESCHLER: That's strange.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, the most popular book.

WESCHLER: Was Josephus an easy book for him to write?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not at all. Success was difficult to write. But the first books were easy. For instance, The Ugly Duchess was very easy for him because it needed only a lot of research and not much from his mind or his feelings. Jud Süß was not so difficult because it was so near to him. He was such a long time haunted by this, so it was already part of him. But Josephus was very difficult for him.

WESCHLER: Why do you think that is? Why was it so difficult? In what way?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was so new also for himself, to write about somebody like Josephus. You have to know the book to understand

that. Because Josephus is a very twilight--what would you say?--a twilight person, ambiguous. And also Lion is not absolutely--he cannot be compared with Josephus, you know; he is two persons in this book. There is another person in his book; and part of him is the other person [Justus], who is the conscience of Josephus, and part of him is also in Josephus himself. They fight with each other, you know--they are two persons. It was very difficult because he could not and he did not want to identify himself too much with Josephus. Only some of his ideas, but not as a person. But you cannot help it: I think a real writer, as long as he writes about a certain person, he is the person, even if he is against this person. In Success, for instance, the minister of justice [Otto Klenk] is not a direct Nazi, but he is a very nationalistic person. But when Lion writes about him.... There is this story about the Panzerkreuzer Potemkin, you know, the ship. It has another name in Success [Orlow], not to seem that it's the same, you know.

But the man who made the movie was a friend of ours, the Russian film maker, [Sergei] Eisenstein. He came to see my husband in Berlin. Later, when I was in Russia, they brought me some sketches, because he wanted to make a movie out of another novel of my husband's, The False Nero [Der falsche Nero] (or The Pretender, it was also called). He had already made sketches, but then he died. And we didn't

even know about that. The director of the archive of Eisenstein brought me the copies of those sketches. I have them here.

WESCHLER: Well, let's stop here for a second and talk a little bit about Eisenstein. What was he like?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was very gentle and nice and also very cosmopolitan, I felt.

WESCHLER: How did you get to know him?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was in Mexico to make a film, and returning from Mexico he came to see my husband in Berlin. But only for a few hours.

WESCHLER: On what grounds? Why did he come? Just to meet him or...?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was an admirer of my husband. Also, as I told you, he had the intention to--since Jud Süß has already been made as a movie in England, by the Gaumont-British, so he wants another book. But he didn't tell anything because he had to know first if it's possible to make it, because you could not make in Russia every film you wanted. So he had first to have the support of the government. And it seems that the government gave him this support, because he already made those sketches.

WESCHLER: I should think that The False Nero would be a rather volatile theme during the Stalinist era.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was all about Hitler. It is the story

of Hitler, in a way, in antiquity, you know. When he wanted to tell something which he couldn't make in a modern novel, he masked his ideas in history. So he could speak out-- because many things he couldn't say in those days in a modern novel. So that is the story of Hitler, and it is even said that Hitler committed suicide [because of it]. In those days I wasn't thinking about keeping those, but I read in a newspaper article that his servant, his personal servant, knew that [Joseph] Goebbels committed suicide because he was afraid it would happen the same way to him, in a modern way, which happens to Hitler and the two henchmen (Goebbels and [Hermann] Göring) in The False Nero. So he said that because, in The False Nero, after they have been defeated, they have been carried around in little carts, all three of them, very bedraggled, and they were shown through the whole country to the ridicule of the people, that that was what they feared the most (that they would be ridiculed by the people in Germany), so that's why they committed suicide. They knew that they have lost, that it is the end of it, and they didn't want the fate which the false Nero had had in the novel. That was his servant. How [else] would the servant know about The False Nero, because the book was not printed in Germany? He couldn't have read it or so. He must just have heard that they spoke about it like that.

WESCHLER: Getting back to Eisenstein, did you have any sense

of his relationship to the Soviet government?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was only a few hours at our house, and he left again. So he didn't speak about the Russian government, he spoke about movies. About his trip in Mexico, and about his movie in Mexico, and about my husband's books. People usually didn't--when they were with my husband, they spoke about his work, not their work, you know.

WESCHLER: Were Eisenstein's films popular in Germany?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, very much. It was a sensation, you know, this film Potemkin. I have seen it, too. I was a little shocked even because it was so cruel. The beginning is that a ship, this battleship--the sailors were in revolt because they got so bad food and.... Do you know about this? You know the movie?

WESCHLER: Right, I've seen the movie.

FEUCHTWANGER: So you know it, ja, ja. And then they throw the doctor into the sea. I was a little upset about it because I said it's bad enough to get meat with worms in it, but it's a little much to kill him. [laughter] And then this--did you see also this children?

WESCHLER: The terrible scene at the stairs.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, at the stairs. And my husband writes, describes it in a whole chapter, or paragraph, the whole movie. And this minister of justice, the Bavarian minister of justice with the name of Klenk goes into the

movie because he hears so much about it. Then he is so taken that in the moment when he saw it, he even felt that the others are right, and when he goes home--and he was an adversary, of course, of the man [Martin] Krüger who was in prison; it was all against his philosophy--he meditates about what art can do to people, that they even felt for the others. And this is a great chapter. It also many times has been published alone in this Reklam edition, only as "The Panzerkreuzer" this only chapter. It's a great chapter, you know. My husband always wanted to show the adversaries of his heroes as human beings who are not only black and white, because they are other persons. That's what people sometimes also found--some of the critics found it is too objective against [the Right]. Some found it too little and some too much, you know. But he didn't care about it. He cared so little about it that when the book has been published, we left with the car--that's why I know when we went to Italy, because I know when the book came out--we left for Italy with the car, and we didn't even know what the critics wrote. He was not interested in critics at all. And that's what also has to do something with the title Success: even success with a book doesn't mean everything. It means only what he writes, and during his writing. He also wrote somewhere, when he wrote about himself, that of the best hours in his life,

he says his work comes in third: first comes human relations, I think, and then comfortable life and work.

Later on, work came before comfortable life. [laughter]

WESCHLER: How was Josephus [Der jüdische Krieg] received when it was published?

FEUCHTWANGER: That was already very much the time of the Nazis. But as much as I remember, it was very much in favor of the book. It was a great success. But it was too early to say about the financial success; I know only about how it was received by the press, and this was very, very great: they sensed the value of the book. But then pretty soon it was destroyed--it was burned. And the second part [Die Söhne] was destroyed by the Nazis: he had already written a great part of it in Germany, in our house, and it has been destroyed.

WESCHLER: The manuscript?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, he had to write it again in France. He said that in a way it was even lucky that it has been destroyed, because he added so many new things which he didn't think about before. Also maybe the outer events had to find him other ways. So in a way, he was not sorry--first, of course, it was a great shock, but then he was not sorry to have it written a second time. And the third part of it [Der Tag wird kommen] was partly written when he was hidden, when he had escaped from the concentration camp, after he

was kidnapped and we were hidden underneath the roof of the American consul [in Marseilles]. He finished that then, and that was fortunate that he was writing so he didn't feel the anxiousness of waiting, the insecurity--not to know if he wouldn't be captured and fall into the hands of the Nazis. He was so imbued in his work that he didn't think about the outer world, his own fate.

WESCHLER: What kind of research did he go through when he was doing Josephus?

FEUCHTWANGER: All the research, of course, which is possible. But since he was an antique student and had even his doctorate in antique languages, it was for him not difficult to read Greek or Latin books, and he could make his research in the original languages--in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

WESCHLER: Did he do it mostly at your house, or did he use the libraries?

FEUCHTWANGER: He used the library, but he didn't always have the time to go because it's a long time, was a long way. So he had a kind of helper--it was half a secretary, half a social acquaintance of ours. This man was a rich young man and he didn't know what to do, so he then made research for my husband. That is, when my husband knew what he wanted from the literature, the secondary literature, then he told him what he needed. Sometimes also I

went to the library for him.

WESCHLER: What was the name of this person?

FEUCHTWANGER: [Werner] Kahn-Bieker; I think he was half-Jewish. His father had been decorated and fell during the First World War, so he thought he was in no danger. First they told him that. But finally he had also to leave the country, and he came to live for a short while also in Sanary--at my husband's expenses, of course. Then he went to Holland and was with the publisher. I think he's still there, if he's still alive. I never heard about him anymore. He was with my husband's publisher, who has been killed also by the Nazis. They found the books of my husband in his publishing house.

WESCHLER: What was his name, the publisher?

FEUCHTWANGER: He had a Spanish name. It must be here somewhere. [Emanuel] Querido. Ja, ja. And he has been killed.

WESCHLER: Oh, I didn't know Querido was killed.

FEUCHTWANGER: There was another publishing house [Allert de Lange], in Amsterdam, and [it's director, (?) Landauer] was also killed. He didn't leave in time. But Querido didn't think they would kill him. I don't even know if he was Jewish. They destroyed everything what was there; all the books of my husband which were printed during the Nazi time in German have all been destroyed. There were big

editions, you know. All the German-speaking and -reading world bought from Holland my husband's books. Switzerland and Austria, and in the Scandinavian countries--although they printed all in their own language, Scandinavian languages, many liked to read it in the original language. So it was big business to publish my husband in Holland, but this all has been destroyed.

WESCHLER: Okay, well, we're on the edge of this tape, too.. I think we'll stop for today.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, how do you feel?

WESCHLER: I'm fine.

FEUCHTWANGER: Really?

WESCHLER: Yes, I'm okay. She's asking how I feel because I have a cold. When we start next time, we'll take a look at Lion's trip to America and then we'll also look at the coming of the Nazis in more detail.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja.

TAPE NUMBER: XV, SIDE ONE

AUGUST 4, 1975

WESCHLER: Apparently, over the weekend, Marta, you had a night of insomnia and a whole rush of memories from earlier periods, so before we get back to Berlin, we have a catalog of earlier material to run through. First of all, you have a sheaf of notes about World War I. To begin with, you were telling me that Lion had a double hernia.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. He acquired it in the military because they had to throw themselves down on the icy ground with their rifles. His cousin [Dr. August Feuchtwanger] was a military doctor and operated on him, and also treated him for his stomach illness. But when Lion asked him for a certificate that he could not serve longer in the army on account of his stomach, then he refused to give him that because he was afraid as a Jew to give another Jew such a certificate--although the number of casualties was much higher--the percentage--in comparison to the other population.

WESCHLER: The Jews were a higher percentage of casualties. You were telling me about the thoughts of Lion's commanding officer when he saw what Lion looked like.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, when [he went to] the doctor of the army, the official doctor--he had to go to the doctor

because he was again very sick with his stomach and had to go to the hospital--then the army doctor said, "It would be sorry for the German army if they need a soldier like you are. You cannot serve now. At least for the time being, you have to have a rest." So he was more humane than his own cousin.

WESCHLER: You were also telling me some stories about your life during that period.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, my husband had always the idea that a woman or his wife should be only for luxury: she should look beautiful and take care of herself. I had to cook, of course, and I pretended to like it, but I didn't; I hated it, although my husband liked very much what I cooked. I would have preferred to study and to go to the library like he did. Then I had to stand in line for butter or meat or whatever there was just coming out (usually it was in the newspaper), sometimes for hours in this cold Bavarian winter, and I froze my toes. That was not luxurious either. Then we had to--in those days there was no central heating; we had ovens where we had to heat with wood and one iron stove which was with coal. It was the law then only to heat one room, and of course we preferred the iron stove because coal [stayed warm in it] longer. But we had never enough coals. It was always--also everything was on stamps, so I had to usually stop

the coal trucks when they passed our street and asked the man if I couldn't have a sack of coals. This was always very difficult, because they were used to being overpaid when they sold without stamps. And they were very tough and ruthless--brutish, you could say--because they all came from the war, and also everybody was hungry. I didn't mind when they were brutish, but sometimes it was the contrary, and that was more dangerous because I had to go with them into the cellar. And then I had to carry the coals four stories up to our apartment. But I considered that a sport. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Nevertheless you did get sick, apparently, at the end of the war.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, and finally with hunger and cold, I got a touch of tuberculosis. And the police doctor told me I had to go to the countryside; maybe I find more food, and also the air would be good to me. We heard that on the Czechoslovakian side of the Böhmerwald, the Bohemian forest (one side is Bavarian and the other is Czechoslovakian), that they had more to eat. So we went there. I had to bake our bread before, because my husband got special stamps--for sick people, special stamps of white flour--and I had to bake myself the bread. I could do it only at night, in the cold, because at daytime there was no gas to bake. Only at night there was the gas oven. So at night I had to bake.

In our backpacks, we had both of us big breads which I mixed with oil (from my husband's family, from his manufacture) so it kept longer. We already had been told that you can't get any bread then nowhere, but sometimes you got eggs or so, more eggs. But there was fantastic cooking in Czechoslovakia. It was always famous for cooking. They made the best omelette I ever ate, with strawberries and raspberries. They made the snow with the beaten egg whites, and it was very light and big and fantastic; and then they baked it--I never saw that before. When it was finished, they baked it in the oven so it was crispy outside and soft inside. [laughter] That was Austrian cooking in those days, still in Czechoslovakia. But later on, we heard that it was rather dangerous to be there. We made wonderful tours in the virgin woods (there are still virgin forests there, I think, even now). But we heard that they still hated everybody who spoke German; some man who came from Munich also to make tours there didn't return anymore.

WESCHLER: They hated them because they were a newly free state?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, because they were always under the Austrian regime, and they hated the Austrian Empire, and wanted to be autonomous, and finally were autonomous. But they hated the Austrian population. It was not in the

big cities, where people were more intellectual; but it was [worse] in the countryside where the population lost sons or brothers in the war and were very bitter against all the German-speaking people. And more primitive people are always a little more dangerous, at least in those days.

WESCHLER: Nevertheless, the Pan-Slavic movement had its difficulties....

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, they had a big congress, a Pan-Slavic congress, and there came the Polish and the jugoslawisch and the tschechoslowakisch people. They wanted to speak about their common language now and their common origin, but they couldn't understand each other, so they had to speak German, which was tragicomic, I think.

WESCHLER: Okay. Moving along a little bit further, we were also talking about the inflation, and you told me something which I don't believe we have on tape before.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, during the inflation, we finally had nothing anymore, and the money I had, what I got from my parents, was nothing worth anymore. Some people maybe had better counsels or so, but anyway that was all lost, all the money was lost, and also the money of my parents, the biggest part of it. What Lion earned, it was always nothing anymore when he got it finally, because as soon as you had it, the same morning, you had to buy things; sometimes it took a month until he got the money from the

theater. He was one of the most played playwrights in those days in Germany, very popular as a playwright, but the money was not worth [anything] anymore. So finally he said, "We are really standing before nothing, and I think the best is that someday we take our lives together." Myself, I was also of the same opinion. But always when it was very down and out, then something came which helped us. For instance, one publisher [Georg Müller] wanted to publish some short stories which Lion had to write [An den Wassern Babylons], and he gave him a big advance. He and friends wrote a book about anti-Semitism which was more in an ironical way, [Gesprache mit dem Ewigen Juden] and those things that they published, they used to always give advance payment. And this helped a lot, of course. So always at the last moment we were saved. He called that "Easter," because Strindberg wrote a play Easter [Påsk], and that is also.... There are two children in this play who are orphans and very badly off: the maid treated them badly and the landlord wanted to throw them out of their apartment. But all of a sudden there was Easter, and everything was changed--the mood of the people--and the landlord came and said they could stay. It was a kind of fairy tale, a very beautiful play--maybe I don't remember so much--but anyway it was Easter and all was resolved in happiness.

WESCHLER: And you were always on the verge of Easter yourself?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, we called that always Easter; then we both, my husband and I, we knew what that means.

WESCHLER: Okay. One other person who just came to your mind about the Munich period was Klabund. You might talk about him.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, Klabund. His name was [Alfred] Henschke. "Klabund" was just a name he himself invented. There was a name, Klabautermann, which meant a kind of Hanswurst--do you know what that is?--a comic person, a typical comic person of the literature and fairy tales and so [a boogeyman]. And Klabund derived it from this probably, from Klabautermann. You already hear it: Klabautermann--that must be something comical. And he wrote wonderful poems and also the Kreidekreis (The Chalk Circle) from which Brecht later took much out, from the idea and also from the plot, for his own Caucasian Chalk Circle. But Klabund's was an original Chinese play, I think. I don't know about the original, but his play has been considered original.

WESCHLER: What was he like?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was thin and blond and very gay and nice and gentle, but very--you were always happy when he was around--and modest and always there, you know, but you felt him without that he made much of it of himself. But he died very early of tuberculosis. Somebody asked me once if he and Brecht met each other. Of course, they met each other

all the time, because Brecht discovered Carola Neher, the famous actress who played also in The Threepenny Opera the very first time it had been played, and Klabund later married Carola Neher. So there was always a kind of relation between those two. They were very good--also they liked each other very much.

WESCHLER: And this was all part of the Munich scene.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Also Ödön von Horváth, the one who is played now a lot--he was an Austrian-Hungarian poet who wrote songs of the Wiener Wald. Did you ever hear of his Wiener forest play? [Geschichten aus dem Wiener Wald] And then he was--he was not Jewish, but he also went into emigration, and he was not long in Paris when on the Champs-Élysées a tree fell on him and killed him. He was very young and everybody liked him. He is now very famous in Europe.

WESCHLER: And he was also in Munich at that time.

FEUCHTWANGER: He was also in Munich, ja. He studied there.

And I was always with the young people together. We were always--I don't know, the young people felt attracted to me, or vice versa. I had always a lot of young people around me, and also young girls; and we went together to the masked balls and so, and I was always in the midst of them. They didn't think that I was so much older.

WESCHLER: Well, you weren't. You weren't so much older.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I was much older. In those days, I was married; they were all students--it's a great difference.

WESCHLER: Okay, well, we're beginning to catch up with where we left off. One other point that you wanted to talk a little bit about was the kinds of books which were important to Lion.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he didn't write books; he wrote plays.

WESCHLER: No, I'm saying you wanted to talk about the kinds of books....

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, about Georg Kaiser. He was a playwright who impressed Lion very much. Kaiser was in those days one of the most famous playwrights. He was also translated, I think, into French and so forth. This was the time of the expressionism, and he was one of the greatest expressionist writers, playwrights. He wrote a play From Morning to Midnight [Von Morgens bis Mitternachts] which was absolutely new in those days, and other plays which were in this same mood. And this Haerschelmann--you know, I told you about the painter von Haerschelmann--he made always the sets for him. One was with a tree, an empty tree with no leaves, in the middle of the [stage], and the whole play you could feel already when the curtain opened, by this tree. Kaiser lived also in Munich and rather alone. But I told you about him: he was called also by Eisner. When Eisner was president, he asked my husband and Heinrich Mann and Brecht and Georg Kaiser

for advice, how to make now the plans for the theater, the State Theatre. And then Kaiser said, "I think we should now begin and not always play those old classics--Schiller and Goethe and Shakespeare. We should find new plays." And then Eisner asked, "Whom do you propose?" And he said, "Me." [laughter] He lived rather comfortably, not poor--not as poor as we lived. He [lived in the] furnished apartment of people we later met in France in the emigration. They were Americans but lived always in Germany. He had an apartment, with very beautiful rugs, because this American painter was the son of an American brewer.

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Herrmann, the old brewer, a very old man; he looked like Washington a little bit, he had those white sideburns. I met him at a wedding of a cousin of mine; he was very old already, but he fell in love with me and wanted me to marry him--I was about fifteen years old--and go with him to America. Of course, it didn't come to pass. Later on, his son--I didn't know him--lived with his daughters in Schwabing, also in a very beautiful apartment; and because he was always traveling, he rented this apartment to Georg Kaiser. It was better to have somebody living there, on account of his beautiful things. But Kaiser, when he had no money anymore, he just sold the things. He sold the rugs and everything....

WESCHLER: Those things which belonged to the American?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. And then, of course, the owner didn't know about it; but the landlord heard it, and he went to the police. So Kaiser has been brought to court. There was a trial, and he had to go to jail. He was not conscious what he did. Caspari--I told you, you know, about this man who had this beautiful gallery and also these literary evenings--he was a great admirer of Kaiser, and he said, "Of course, I would have paid every debt he had, if only he had come to me. We all would have helped him. But he didn't ask anybody; he didn't tell anybody. He just sold the things." And then these people bought everything back, and I think he has been--I don't think he went to jail. He was condemned to jail, but then they said he was not very sane in his mind or something. And everybody paid. And also the owner of the rugs said, "If I had known, I would never have sued him, even if I had lost the rugs." [laughter] And the daughter of this painter lives here in Santa Barbara. Everywhere we were she was too. She lived also in Sanary, and she was a friend of the Huxleys. And then she came here.

WESCHLER: What was her name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Eva Herrmann. She's a painter, but she doesn't paint anymore; she was a painter. She was a very good caricature designer and now she is an astrologist.

WESCHLER: Okay. You had wanted to tell me a little bit about

the books which made an impression on Lion.

FEUCHTWANGER: Sometimes it was not only the book but the whole literature, like the Indian literature, the East Indian literature. During the time he wrote the Vasantasena, I found in his diary.... [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: We were just talking about his impressions of East Indian literature.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, in those days when he was busy with writing Warren Hastings, he made research in East Indian literature. And also he knew that Goethe wrote about Sakuntala; he translated Sakuntala, which was a play by an Indian writer, and Goethe wrote also a verse about Sakuntala, how beautiful that is. And my husband wrote as an epithet of Goethe, in the printed play, what Goethe wrote in connection with Indian philosophy, "The one who acts has no conscience; conscience has only the one who contemplates." [Der Handelnde hat kein Gewissen; Gewissen hat nur der Betrachtende.] And also he wrote another longer verse which I have to translate, which also was an impression of his Indian philosophy, that you should.... There is also in his Warren Hastings an Indian maharaja who says, "Sleep is better than to be awake; death is better than life." All those things made a great impression on my husband. That was also maybe what influenced him to [consider] taking his own life.

WESCHLER: In the days when he was thinking of that. So,

in a way, it's a good thing he got out of his Indian stage.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. [laughter] [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Okay, one last World War I story, and then we'll return to Berlin.

FEUCHTWANGER: A cousin of my mother [Siegfried Lichtenstätter], who was a high official in the finance department and who had been offered to be minister if he would convert to Christianity--he was very conscious of the Jews to go to war and also to be patriotic, and he had wanted to be a volunteer but they rejected him on account of his age. Then he wanted only to live like the soldiers lived, and he refused to eat anything which could not be bought with stamps; he became absolutely emaciated, because you couldn't live alone from the stamps. And then he slept on the ground, thinking of the soldiers in the trenches, and acquired terrible, painful sciatica, so that he could only work standing at a lectern and writing there because sitting was too painful.

WESCHLER: That's another example of this Jewish phenomenon during the war.

Okay, well, we've now gathered up a whole bunch of previous material, and now we're back again in Berlin in the late twenties and early thirties. We're going to start right now just with some stories about life in Berlin during that period. In particular, you have two New Year's tales to tell us.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, one was at the publisher of my husband, [E.] Rowohlt. He was also the publisher of Sinclair Lewis and I think also of Arnolt Bronnen. Anyway, Bronnen came with another daughter of a general on each arm, with his monocle and his blue eyes, and we all made fun of him because he pretended to be an admirer of the National Socialists. He was very patriotic and nationalistic. He was full of hate against the Italians because he was prisoner of war in the First World War. And then he wrote a play against Poland; he always said that one day, they will invade eastern Germany. March against Poland was this play [Ostpolzug]. It had been played already but not with so great success. But his first play, Vatermord (Assassination of the Father), was an enormous success, and it was one of the most important expressionistic plays in those days. And then Sinclair Lewis arrived, and when he saw Bronnen, he immediately wanted to leave and was already out on the stairs. My husband ran after him and said, "We don't take Bronnen seriously. I think he does it only to épater les bourgeois, just to shock the philistines. You should really stay here and don't pay attention to him." And then he also came back.

WESCHLER: And the evening proceeded smoothly after that.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. [laughter] And when Sinclair Lewis had something to drink, then he was always happy.

Bronnen did something else. Bronnen really became a

Nazi later. He was a friend of Goebbels. He pretended to be Gentile: he said his father was not his real father, and his mother, who was Gentile, got him from another man, that he was a child of....

WESCHLER: His father was Jewish?

FEUCHTWANGER: His father was Jewish, but he said that his mother was not Jewish, that she had an affair with a Gentile and that's why he's not Jewish. So he was accepted as an Aryan, as they called it. But he then never wrote a play during this time and was very unhappy immediately. All of a sudden he noticed what happened there, what became of all that in Germany; and he then was not only against the Nazis, he was in the underground, working against them. And to compensate for all that, he became a Communist. When the Americans came--they had different sectors: American, French, English, and Russian--he was in the American sector in Austria. I think they made him mayor. The Americans made him mayor of the village where he was because they heard that he's reliable. Then he went to East Germany and became a Communist. He always had to do extremes, either the one side or the other.

WESCHLER: You have mentioned also about his novel.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. Later, he wrote a kind of big short story, a novella, which showed already his talent he had. The title was Die Septembernovelle, and it was the first time I read about homosexuality in literature. It never had been

mentioned before. It was as if he himself was a near-homosexual. Anyway, he pretended a little bit, but usually we saw him with beautiful women and beautiful film actresses and so. He worked also for the UFA, for the films later. And then he wrote a kind of autobiography [Gibt zu protokoll] where he tells of all without pardon for himself. He wrote all what happened to him, what he did in his life. He had no self-pity. He wrote it as it was, and this was a great thing to do.

WESCHLER: How was homosexuality treated and felt about in Berlin? One has the sense of a very libertine society. Was it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, but nobody spoke much about homosexuality, more about lesbianism. That was the new trend then. There was a special club where all the girls were. I don't know if they were all lesbian, but it was the fashion, you know. There were also men who came there, and one of them was Remarque--he was very popular there. [laughter]

WESCHLER: What was their status in such a club?

FEUCHTWANGER: I never went there, but my husband's Berlin secretary always told us about it; she was always there. She had a kind of salon, a literary salon.

WESCHLER: Was homosexuality actively frowned upon, male homosexuality, or was it tolerated?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was not spoken about; it was just not

spoken. It was not tolerated, but one never knew exactly, and one never asked. It is a funny thing, sex in Germany: of course, in Berlin it was very libertine, but in a way it was discreet. You didn't speak about it, and mostly there were no scandals or gossip or something like that.

WESCHLER: Even in Berlin at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not at all. You spoke about it en passant, but without judging people, and you took it for granted that not all the people are the same. But there was very little gossip in this way. The gossip was sometimes more about intrigues in the theater, when somebody took the role of somebody else, or critics or so, but sexual things were not spoken too much. I only know that when people wanted to live the real life, they went to Paris. They said there you can even go to the brothels and see what they're doing. Even the ladies went there.

WESCHLER: So that even in the twenties and early thirties Paris was thought of as more....

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, absolutely; there is no doubt about it. In Paris it was an old tradition. In Berlin, it was new. They tried to be a little bit like Paris, but they were not so great in doing it.

WESCHLER: I see. Well, we still have to hear about our second New Year's Eve party at Ullstein's.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. That was when Remarque was at our table,

and also the director of literature at the Ullstein's, Dr. Emil Hertz, who was our neighbor in Berlin. He was the one who went over through the woods--I think I told you--to make the contract. He was a tall, big man, and we thought.... We all liked to drink, and mostly Remarque. I never drank at home, but when I was with other people, I drank with them. So Remarque said to me, "Now we drink Dr. Hertz under the table." So we drank and said, "To your health." [Every] time, you know, he had to drink and we drank--he drank every glass which we drank--and finally Remarque and I were under the table and he was still sober. [laughter] And I had to drive home.

WESCHLER: Well, judging from the stories you told me about your driving, you were probably driving better drunk than if you weren't. [silence] But what was Remarque like?

FEUCHTWANGER: Remarque was very elegant. He was very much an homme à femmes: the ladies liked him; he liked the ladies. He always wanted--because he saw that I was interested in auto and in car driving--that I go with him to Italy on his Lancia. He had just bought a new Lancia, which was the fastest car in those days. But I didn't go with him in this or my other car. [laughter]

WESCHLER: That doesn't surprise me, for some reason.

FEUCHTWANGER: It surprised me. [laughter]

WESCHLER: How integral to his personality was his pacifism,

which appears in his novels so much? Was that the primary thing he talked about?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was. But I think all the literary people were pacifistic. Except Bronnen. And yes, something else that just happened to my mind: when Remarque had written a play.... I don't know: was it a new play or was an adaptation of All Quiet on the Western Front? We were not in...I think we left...yes, my husband was in America and I was not in Berlin at this time. But I heard that at the premiere, at the first night, Bronnen and his friends let white mice out during the premiere and everybody ran out of the theater. That was Bronnen.

WESCHLER: Bronnen and other Nazis were doing this?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, as a demonstration of the Nazis. It was before they came to power.

WESCHLER: What happened with the play?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember what happened. We were here together with Remarque. But the funny thing was that we never spoke about what happened before. Also my husband never spoke about it. Only those people who had no hope, or who didn't think they would go ahead here, spoke about what was. But nobody really spoke about what was; we spoke about the present, what could come out of the war, and the future. But we didn't look back.

WESCHLER: Was Remarque a member of the community here in Santa

Monica?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, very much. He was also a good friend of Elisabeth Bergner, the famous actress.

WESCHLER: We'll get to that when we come here again.

FEUCHTWANGER: He was a great collector of famous paintings, impressionist paintings. It was very difficult because he traveled very much after the war, to Europe and so, and he didn't know what to do with all his paintings because it was dangerous--they could be stolen. So he gave them, lent paintings to the museum. So he didn't have to pay the insurance, and they were safe there. Later he married lovely Paulette Goddard. She was his widow, ja. She is his widow, because she is still alive.

WESCHLER: We'll return to that when we come to the United States. I have a list here of some stories you wanted to tell, and one of them is about Georg Kaiser and his car.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh yes, Georg Kaiser, who never had money with his good plays, all of a sudden had the idea to write something like an operetta, like a--what do you call it here?--a musical. Two Ties (Zwei Krawatten). I wasn't there, I don't know what it was. It was an enormous success and all--he got much money--and it had nothing to do with his real stand as a writer or a poet. Then he bought a car and went on the new freeway--that was the first freeway, I think, in Europe; it was called the Avus--and he went

there in full speed, and all of a sudden he reversed his gear. So of course, it was torn to pieces, the engine. It's the same thing with the--you know, he was not responsible; he did that even with his own things. He was a Gentile. He didn't have to leave Germany (he was rather wealthy then with his play, with his musical), but he left Germany and went to Switzerland because he didn't want to stay under the Nazis. He died there also then.

WESCHLER: You also have a story about a party at Jacobsohn's of the Weltbühne.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh yes, Jacobsohn was the publisher of the Weltbühne--that was the most important periodical of theater--and all the other former colleagues of my husband were there, all those who wrote for Jacobsohn. I had the feeling they were very cold against my husband, but he didn't realize it. My husband even admired some of them--for instance, [Kurt] Tucholsky, who wrote satirical poems under different names who were also very famous. He was a poet and a satirical poet together. It was always poetry in his wit. Lion admired him greatly, but later I found out that Tucholsky hated my husband, without they even didn't speak much. They didn't know each other. But I think a woman had something to do with it. He was married but didn't live with his wife, and he had a girlfriend. But this girlfriend went always to see my husband. She

came always to our house. She was also the divorced wife of a writer, I think. I don't know if she was in love with my husband, but anyway, she all the time came to my husband to see him. I thought because Tucholsky began to get cold to her that maybe she wanted to make Tucholsky jealous. So it seemed that this had to do something. Afterwards I thought so, I don't know.* Anyway my husband didn't know Tucholsky; he just met him once or so, and he admired him for his writing only. But not personally; he did not know him personally. And all those people were very cold to him--not so much to me I felt, but to him. And then I realized that they thought he wanted to be better--that's what they called "he danced out of the row" (that's what they say in Germany)--because he became an author and was no critic anymore. That was a kind of inferiority feeling with them. Anyway, they were reluctant in a way. But he was so naive he didn't even realize it. I never told him--I didn't want to hurt him--but I had the feeling that they all.... There were some of them who also attacked him personally in their writings. As long as he was himself a critic, that was always in good camaraderie. But all of a sudden it became a cold enmity; they were cold enemies. It was not as before, when they had discussions or so--they sometimes were almost fighting but they [no longer felt]

*During the editing process, Mrs. Feuchtwanger was given a checklist of specific queries and verifications; alongside the note asking for the names of the people mentioned in this passage, Mrs. Feuchtwanger scribbled, "No Dice."

that he was one of them anymore.

WESCHLER: Well, before we leave Berlin, I'm thinking of some other people to talk about. Gerhart Hauptmann, for instance.

FEUCHTWANGER: Hauptmann: there was his seventieth birthday, and we were there. We didn't know him personally, because my husband didn't want to meet him. He had had a very bad experience. His own brother, the second one, Martin, all of a sudden without any reason--that was long before the First World War--wrote a great attack against Hauptmann. My husband was a great admirer of Hauptmann, but his brother was the publisher of a newspaper, and he attacked Hauptmann. Of course, the name Feuchtwanger was not known at first to Hauptmann, because my husband lived in Munich and was only a critic. Only later, when Lion had written some of his plays and also some of his novels, was he known to Hauptmann. But my husband always tried not to meet him because he had a terrible feeling on account of his brother. Instead of going to him and saying, "Mr. Hauptmann, I'm not responsible for my brother," he just wanted not to meet him. But then we had to go to the seventieth birthday.

WESCHLER: What was that? Where was that held?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know exactly when it was.* I think it was the PEN Club which made this big party.

*Hauptmann, born in 1862, would have been seventy in 1932.

Usually it was in the so-called Herrenclub; that was a big building, an old palace, where mostly the aristocratic people had their parties. It was a government building. But anyway, I remember only that they wrote about my dress afterwards in the newspaper. Kerr spoke about me. I was very tanned because I came from skiing, and I had a silver dress which at the back was rather low. He said I looked like chocolate in staniol. That is the paper around chocolate.

WESCHLER: Oh, aluminum foil.

FEUCHTWANGER: Foil, yes, that's the word. Ja, ja.

Chocolate in staniol. [laughter]

WESCHLER: I'm trying to think of some other people who you might know something about. Did you ever meet Paul Valéry, for instance?

FEUCHTWANGER: Paul Valéry, yes, he was also invited by the PEN Club. He came together with a French playwright-- didn't I tell you?

WESCHLER: You haven't told me, but I believe it was Tristan Bernard.

FEUCHTWANGER: Tristan Bernard and Paul Valéry came together, invited by the PEN Club. There was also a big party, a big banquet. Across from where I sat was the French ambassador, [Pierre] de Margerie, and there was the famous architect [Eric] Mendelsohn on my left side. Walter

Gropius, the other architect, was there. I was very impressed and very modest. I felt very modest with all those famous people.

WESCHLER: How was Valéry thought of by German writers?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was thought that he was a famous writer. I don't think they knew him, all the people. Not all knew good French and could appreciate a French poet, but when somebody was famous--I think maybe he got the Nobel Prize also. Yes, that was probably the reason.

WESCHLER: What did your husband think of him?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not too much. He thought he's a good writer, but he was not so impressed as he was, for instance, with Brecht. And he liked old Chrétien de Troyes and François Villon and--what is the later one?--Verlaine also, but a friend of Verlaine who was a great poet. (He afterwards quit when he was thirty and didn't write anymore).

WESCHLER: Rimbaud.

FEUCHTWANGER: Rimbaud, ja, ja. Arthur Rimbaud. Those he liked better than Paul Valéry. But he said always he is not an expert in poetry. But when something hit him, like Brecht's poetry, then, of course, he was an expert.

WESCHLER: Speaking of foreign writers, we've spoken a little bit about Sinclair Lewis. Did you know Christopher Isherwood in Berlin?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, of course. No, not in Berlin. I

met him first here.

WESCHLER: Okay, we'll talk about him when we get here; I just thought you might have known him in Berlin. Well, let's go from literature to music. Berlin, of course, was extremely famous at that time for the musical revolution and particularly the number of orchestras.

FEUCHTWANGER: Schoenberg lived there, and I think also Ernst Toch lived there, worked there. Ja, ja. [laughter]

WESCHLER: But in particular at this point, I was thinking about what the musical scene was like for someone who wasn't especially in music, like you.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, my husband was not too much interested in the living and the modern music. He was interested in Mozart and Haydn and Beethoven. His most modern was Bartók. And then he liked Richard Strauss. But he was very conservative in his musical taste.

WESCHLER: But even for someone who was conservative in taste, there were tremendous orchestras in Berlin at that time, weren't there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but you know we were not much in Berlin. Either my husband was working--and then he didn't go out--or we were traveling. Every year we were at least four months traveling.

WESCHLER: Did you know Otto Klemperer?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, we knew Otto Klemperer, and he was a

great admirer of my husband. He invited us--we didn't know him before--only he invited us before we knew him to come to the opening of his new opera house when he conducted Rigoletto. It was outstanding, very new in the whole thing, not so kitschy anymore, and with great élan. He told me here that he was so proud that my husband came to his first performance.

WESCHLER: Who were some of the other conductors in Berlin at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Bruno Walter was there, but we never met him in Berlin. And also we were not in musical circles except Weill, Kurt Weill, because we knew him through Brecht. And Hanns Eisler, but also not very--Eisler wrote the music also, I think, for Warren Hastings.

WESCHLER: How about Ernst Krěnek?

FEUCHTWANGER: Krěnek. Did he live in Berlin?

WESCHLER: I believe so.

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know.

WESCHLER: That answers that. Finally, in a more popular vein about music, the image that we Americans have of Berlin is of the cabaret scene at that time.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but we had not this image, you know. That's just one little thing which happened. But not in our environment. We didn't know about it. We didn't even go there. What we knew of the cabaret was political

cabaret. There was [Friedrich] Holländer, the famous Holländer, who wrote these beautiful songs for cabaret; he also wrote the music to The Blue Angel, you know, this famous music which [Marlene] Dietrich sang. But they were the only people we knew of the cabaret. But the cabaret was not--even the name "cabaret" was used only for political performances. The other cabarets we didn't know. They must have been kind of bordello or so; we never heard about that. What I read by Isherwood, that was not the Berlin what we knew. Maybe it was like if you would go here into the slums, you know; but nobody of our circles knew about this Berlin which he describes. And also the people who are in his book are a Frenchman, French and American people; there are even not Germans.

WESCHLER: And that wasn't the Berlin that you knew.

FEUCHTWANGER: Absolutely not. We didn't know about this Berlin. It was when I read it the first time....

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AUGUST 4, 1975

WESCHLER: We're still in Berlin. Now I'd like to talk a little bit about Lion's politics of this period, and the context within which I'd like to talk about it is the fact that the novels of this period--and I'm thinking of Success and of the Oppermann novel, which was written later...

FEUCHTWANGER: There was only one novel.

WESCHLER: Well...let me finish the question. They generally have characters in them who are writers or artists or musicians and so forth, who are impaled on the dilemma of art and politics. Through them we are able to get a very good sense of Lion's feelings about art and politics, but what we don't have is a sense of Lion's own politics in daily action during those days in 1931, '32, '33, as the Nazis were coming.

FEUCHTWANGER: But we were usually not in Berlin.

WESCHLER: Well, what was Lion's general political attitude in the late Weimar period? Was he himself personally involved in any way politically?

FEUCHTWANGER: Nobody was involved except the government itself. People were not involved in politics in those days. Not in Germany. They were always apolitical. Not

antipolitical: apolitical. They didn't even speak much about politics. They spoke only about the danger of the Nazis. Other people spoke about the danger of the Communists, but not the intellectuals; they didn't think that the Communists were of any danger. That was only a pretension of the Nazis, to make people afraid of the Communists. There were very few Communists there, anyway, and they had no real leaders because their leaders were all killed. It was not spoken about, politics. It was, of course, when Rathenau has been murdered, and things like that, but that was always the extreme. But that has nothing to do with the politics of the government. You read the Weltbühne (before it was the Schaubühne), and that was all what you needed to read, the Weltbühne, to know how bad the Weimar Republic was considered by the liberal politics. Because they were already too much afraid of the conservative. There was Hindenburg who came to power, and you could see how it had changed; the politics of the revolution and of the republic changed into the politics of the big business, of the big heavy industry and so. But that was all--everybody knew it. There was even a man who wrote a novel about The Union of the Hard Hand [Union der Festen Hand] which was about those people on the Rhine, big business and big industry. [Erik] Reger, I think--something like that--was his name. But it was quick forgotten. Nobody wanted

to know much about politics. That was the reason why the politics could come into this terrible shape, because those people who knew better, they didn't do anything. They thought that the government does the things anyway bad, but what power do we have to do it better?

WESCHLER: Would you say that was also true of someone like Brecht? Or was he more involved?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not outwardly. A writer--you know, there is a proverb in Germany which says, "Writers write but don't speak." A writer has to write, and then he has to try to influence his readers with his ideas, but they were not acting politics. Not like now, [Günter] Grass or so, who is [a Social] Democrat and goes around during the election and speaks. But this was not done; the only one who was active was Toller, in a way. But I don't remember that he did anything what was visible.

WESCHLER: Did you vote in the elections?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, we voted always. But once we had to go away (that was during the last election, which was called the [Franz von] Papen election: we left Berlin and went to eastern Germany, which is now Polish for most of the part, to Nidden in Littauen [Lithuania] by car; it was very beautiful, the whole trip, extremely beautiful) because it has been told that maybe there will be riots, although we had some iron staves on our windows to the street.

But nothing really happened.

WESCHLER: When you voted, who did you vote for in the last election? What party?

FEUCHTWANGER: [laughter] I think we voted for Hindenburg because he was--it was that we had no choice. There was either Hindenburg or Nazis, or something like that.

WESCHLER: Did you align yourself generally more with the Social Democrats than any other party?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but on the other hand the Social Democrats were considered a little bit weak and undecisive. The Communists were more decisive, but we didn't know much communism, no people who were Communist. Not like in Munich, where we knew Mühsam or so. I don't remember that we met any Communists except Brecht who was very near to communism. Only the Social Democrats were not very much in, not very much respected. They were considered too weak, already in the hands of the military. There was a General [Hans von] Seeckt, who gave himself as a protector of the arts, of music and art, and he liked to get in touch with writers. I knew him also, met him in some public society and so. But he was...there was no belief in...there was a kind of apathy also. I think. After all the hopes we had from after the war, that this is the last war and things like that, and then came the people who made again money by manufacturing arms and so--we all were

a little apathetic, I think.

WESCHLER: Did that apathy persist even as Hitler became more powerful? I should think that Lion, having seen Hitler in Munich, would have been alarmed. How did he react to Hitler as Hitler became more and more a force?

FEUCHTWANGER: In Berlin, we didn't feel it so much. The people in Berlin, I always heard, also during the Hitler time, they were very skeptical against him. His big adherents were in Bavaria. Munich was "The City of the Movement," he called it. And the Berliners were always very critical and a little bit skeptic; they were not real Nazis there. They did what they had to do, but all those people who we knew and then met later said that in Berlin you didn't meet any--you didn't have to meet Nazis if you didn't want to.

WESCHLER: Did Lion take the danger of Hitler seriously in 1932-33, or did he still feel...? In Success the Hitler character is merely ridiculed.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, but he didn't think that--first of all, he thought, like Aristophanes, that you could change people with your irony and make them ridiculous; but that was a great mistake, I think. In every country and every time of history were those people who ridiculed the government or the danger. But he never would have thought that it happened like that.

WESCHLER: Would you have thought, say, in the beginning of 1932, that there was any chance that Hitler would become chancellor?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh no, we wouldn't have stayed in Germany--where we bought a house in 1930, you know--we wouldn't have done that. On the other hand my husband wrote once--he has been asked by a great [Hamburg] newspaper about his thoughts, along with other writers, of what there would be in the future; and then he said, "I see myself and others already as emigrants, running away."

WESCHLER: At what point was this?

FEUCHTWANGER: It must have been in '30 or so. But you know, he played with this thought, but he didn't believe it in reality. It was more or less a kind of bon mot, you would say. In his inner--he didn't believe it. Nobody believed it.

WESCHLER: In retrospect, is there anything the intellectuals could have done, had they banded together and been more political, to prevent Hitler?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was--you know, there were big scandals in the government, and Hindenburg had to cover the scandals; and that was the advantage of Hitler. For instance, the son of Hindenburg [Oskar] took money which was [supposed] to be used for the poorer agricultural people in eastern Germany; he took it around his own estate. He took the

money to make his estate bigger. He had a big estate there. This was in east German Silesia where were the big estates of the Junkers, they were called. So Hitler heard about that-- it came to his ears--and he went to Hindenburg and said, "If you don't make me chancellor, then I will publish what your son did with the monies which he had to help the poor farmers and which instead he took for himself." So Hindenburg had no choice. He was very unhappy. He said, "I don't want always to see this corporal." Because in the war, Hitler was only a corporal.

WESCHLER: What did you think of Hindenburg?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he was very stupid. By those days, he was only a monument; he was not a living person anymore. He was very stupid. He bragged about that he never read a book: so it was already enough to hear that to know.... But the dangerous man was Papen, in his way: he was his minister of culture, I think, and also minister of foreign politics. He was in America [early in World War I]--and this was a typical for him--and he lost his briefcase, or left it at a station or so. The most important papers. So everybody laughed about this Papen. But he was a dangerous man: he brought Hitler to Hindenburg. He was Catholic; he was of the Centrum party, so he was not a Nazi in the way. But he was impressed by Hitler, and also thought that Hitler would save Germany from the Communists.

That was always the way why Hitler came to power because he said we have to do something against Communists. It was a little bit like the CIA in Cuba or so, the same mentality.

WESCHLER: The history books that we read indicate that starting with 1930, '31, '32, '33, street violence and that kind of polarization became much, much more agitated.

FEUCHTWANGER: Street violence. I didn't know about street violence. The only thing we heard--we never saw anything--were some manifestations on the street by the Reichsbanner; that was the Left, the democrats. And the Nazis, of course, made big things on the streets with music and great effort. Finally the Reichsbanner, which were many, many people, were very afraid of the Nazis. Although they were more than the others, they were the peace-loving people, and the Nazis were the aggressive people. And also then we met one man who was also here for a while--[Fritz] Sternberg, I think, was his name, but I don't remember. He was very nearly a Marxist, and he was very near to the communistic rule, and he said that on the outskirts of Berlin, where the poor people had their little gardens, where they had some vegetables planted, that there were some Nazis who lived there and they were all killed. Nobody dared to go out at night where the slums were.

WESCHLER: The Nazis were killed?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no, excuse me. No, the Nazis killed the Communists. The Communists who came from the slums and those more or less poor people. They had those little schrebergartens, it was called, little gardens, little plots where they raised some vegetables. And the Communists lived there also, and on Sundays they went there with their children. They were all killed, the Communists by the Nazis. Nobody dared to go out. He said, "If I wanted to make a riot with Communists, I couldn't get a single one on the street. They were all too much afraid of the Nazis." Because the Communists had no arms; the Nazis had all the arms. No rifles, no guns, nothing.

WESCHLER: But did that tension reach onto Mahlerstrasse, where you were living?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, that was the other part of Berlin, you know.

WESCHLER: And in the richer part....

FEUCHTWANGER: It was like so far away like we here from Watts are.

WESCHLER: So it was like that: people who were living in the richer sections of Berlin did not have this....

FEUCHTWANGER: No, they didn't even think about that. And there were no Communists, and also there were no Nazis in this part. The Nazis were not in the--like you would say the Communists are in Bel-Air or so. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Okay. Well, let's begin to talk about the onset. We've talked about where you were when Hitler came to power ([you were] in the mountains); we talked a little bit about that. Let's talk right now about what Lion was doing. He was in America, but before we talk about that, let's talk about Lion's view of America, and that brings us to the subject of Wetcheck. [Pep--J.L. Wetchecks Amerikanisches Liederbuch]

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. No, I think the Wetcheck poems were written before he went to America.

WESCHLER: They were written before, but we haven't talked about them yet, so you might tell us what they were.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes, the poems--it was just, I think it came mostly when he read Sinclair Lewis's Babbitt. He got his idea from Babbitt mostly; that was his idea of America, which was not quite the right--I think many things are wrong what he wrote in his Wetcheck poems. But it was his picture what he had of America. So he wrote some, he thought, funny ballads; and they have been published in the Berliner Tageblatt every Sunday, under the name of J.L. Wetcheck. And that was the translation of his name. Wetcheck is--wet is feucht, and cheek is Wange.

WESCHLER: That's Feucht-wanger.

FEUCHTWANGER: Feuchtwanger, yes, but this was not exactly the right translation; it was more a translation which

was practical. It would have been too complicated to translate his name from which it was, because originally it would have been "fir slope" if you would use the real name. It came from this town of Feuchtwangen, which was a town which was situated on a fir slope [Fichte Hang]. And Feucht has changed from Fichte later. So it would be very complicated. So he translated it verbally. And so it was Wetchek. He wrote those little ballads which were half-satirical and half- (what shall I say?) sympathetic for the American. He was very much for America through the way of literature. He was a great admirer of Mark Twain, a greater admirer than you ever would find in America. Also he admired Sinclair Lewis; he liked best his Arrowsmith. And some others. I wrote down the names of the writers he liked in America. Would you like to hear them? [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: Who were the other Americans you've just mentioned?

FEUCHTWANGER: There was [John] Steinbeck. The early Steinbeck he admired very much, the first one--his short stories and also Grapes of Wrath. That was one of his greatest impressions he ever had of a writer.

WESCHLER: And he also liked Stephen Crane, you said.

FEUCHTWANGER: Red Badge of Courage, ja.

WESCHLER: While the tape was off, you mentioned that he

liked Norman Mailer.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he liked Norman Mailer, The Naked and the Dead. And there is one with the name of Bradbury; that was a novel, Bradbury....

WESCHLER: Ray Bradbury?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, that was not--excuse me. Thudbury, and his name was Davies, [Clyde] Brion Davies--I think he had two first names. And he writes about him in his House of Desdemona. You can read it. Whatever he [liked], he wrote--I think it's better if you read it, whatever he liked.

And I wanted to tell you, what has nothing to do with Americans, that of course it was only a first draft, this book, The House of Desdemona; he found that his chapter about Walter Scott was much too long. He wanted to shorten it. And then, of course, he didn't have the time anymore to write about Arnold Zweig and all those writers.

WESCHLER: We'll talk about that book in more detail later on. Let's get back. So how long was he able to keep up this Wetchek ruse?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, they waited. Every Sunday it was a great expectation what the new Wetchek ballad would be. And then somebody came onto the idea to translate back the name Wetchek, and he found out it was Feuchtwanger, and then the whole joke found an end. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Okay, well, that gives us some idea what he thought of America before he came to America. Under what conditions did he come to America?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was asked to make lectures there.

WESCHLER: By who?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't remember. An agent probably. It was on account of his success of Jud Süß and his other books. Success wasn't such a great success because it was too new. When he was asked to come, it was mostly about Jud Süß and The Ugly Duchess. And the other novels were not out long enough. They were not even finished. Success was not finished yet.*

WESCHLER: So during what season did he leave for America?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was in November [1932], I think. We were first in England.

WESCHLER: Both of you together went to England?

FEUCHTWANGER: We were in England together.

WESCHLER: And what happened there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, there happened a lot of things. But didn't I tell you about it already?

WESCHLER: Some of the things you told us, but mainly you told us about the first English trip.

FEUCHTWANGER: I wasn't on the first English trip.

WESCHLER: You weren't on that one, but you told us some stories. So maybe you could tell us some stories about this trip. [pause in tape]

*Actually Erfolg had been published in 1930.

FEUCHTWANGER: When we came to England together, my husband's publisher, Huebsch, was there already and found for us a hotel which he liked very much. When we came there, we had to wait a long time until somebody opened. And then came an old man in a kind of livery with short trousers, and with a candlestick, and he said, "Oh, you are late." But we came from the train; we couldn't come earlier. And then he led us with candles over red-carpeted stairs to our room, which was terribly cold--it was November, and there was no central heating in the whole hotel. But Huebsch, who was an American, he liked that and found it romantic that there was only fireplace and only candles there. But candles is not very good for a writer who likes to read. [laughter] When he can have better light. And it was also that the fireplace didn't give much warmth. So we left the next day for a better hotel. So much about English romantics. [laughter] Huebsch, his American publisher, was very disappointed about our prosaic mind.

Then we were invited by the publisher, of course, and by his agent, Curtis Brown, who had a very great agency, [to a reception]. All the writers who were somebody were there--[H.G.] Wells, and I don't remember everybody. It was so full that you couldn't even move. The funny thing was that when I came--we came rather late, and I apologized in my bad English. I said that the taxi driver took advantage of us because we were foreigners. It was just not more than, not even five minutes to go from our hotel, but

it took him a half-hour. He went with us around and around through London, and I finally said, "But we have seen that already; that is Trafalgar Square, and we were there already before!" So finally he brought us there. Then all the people there were so astonished that somebody dared to speak with a cab driver like that. [laughter]

And then we were invited by Lord Melchett, who my husband knew already. First we were invited in his city palace, which was on Smith Square [?], and this was very interesting. It was very cold already, unusually cold, and the ground was covered with ice, snowy ice (it snowed at night). And the Smith Square [?] was a little place of a bigger place, off a bigger place. Through an arch we went in, and inside there this place looked almost like Shakespeare's time. It was a low building, and you didn't feel that you were in the present. And then we came into the palace. It was very old, and it was icy cold also. First we came to the paintings gallery; Lord Melchett showed me the paintings, and we went around the place. [pause in tape]

WESCHLER: So you went in....

FEUCHTWANGER: And Lord Melchett showed me the paintings. I said, "It's probably very difficult to install central heating in an old palace like this." And he said, "Oh, no, we have central heating. But we don't put it on, on account of our Rembrandts." The music salon was very

modern and also very cold, and then the dining room, an enormous dining room with big doors for outside, to look outside; and it was modern, in stainless steel, the table, with glass. It was very beautiful because it was dark stainless steel and in very good taste. Usually in those days, modern furniture looked like the dentist's furniture, but this was very, very beautiful done. I had a black velvet dress without sleeves, and I almost froze onto the armrests. But then it wasn't long until one door opened and there came those liveried servants in, two and two, with big basins with glowing coals. They carried them to the fireplaces and put them into the fireplaces. Then you had at least warm on your back. Before you, you got a hot soup, which had to warm you. [laughter]

The gentleman who accompanied me to [the dinner] table was a cousin of the queen, Lord Cumberland, or something like that. And across from me was Chaim Weizmann. And there were many members of Parliament there, but I didn't remember the name. The Duke of Cumberland was very chivalrous and tried to speak about literature with me; but I was very glad when Chaim Weizmann spoke, because when he spoke, nobody else spoke. Everybody was silent--all the members of Parliament, everybody listened to Chaim Weizmann, what he has to say. And Chaim Weizmann told me across the table, "You know,

what you need in Germany is our Prince of Wales, because he is so great in getting our country over in other countries. He was, for instance, in Sweden; he saw some installations, and he said, 'You should go to England. I think we have it better than you can make it the same here.' That's what you need in Germany to make yourself popular in other countries." [laughter]

WESCHLER: Did Chaim Weizmann have anything to say about Hitler at that time, that you remember?

FEUCHTWANGER: We met Chaim Weizmann many times. We were together in the European coffee shops, and he spoke already about the danger of Hitler. But in a way that wasn't...we were not afraid; it was also...nobody could have saw that ever he could come like that, you know. We thought it would be like when here would be the [John] Birchers, for instance, in the government. You wouldn't think that they would kill people. I think it wouldn't be very, very pleasant to have the Birchers, let's say, a Bircher as a president, but it wouldn't be--nobody would think that so many people would be killed then or that they would make war or things like that. Also nobody would have believed that he would ever come to power, because they thought the others are too numerous against him.

WESCHLER: So how long were you in England at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, I don't remember, about ten days or a

little longer even. Did I tell you that the king invited my husband to see a painting of the Ugly Duchess by Quentin Mathis [?].

WESCHLER: But that your husband was sick and couldn't go?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. But this time Lord Melchett invited us to his country palace. He said it's a modern house.

He sent his Rolls Royce already in the morning--it was in the evening [that he wanted us] to be there--because he wanted us to make a trip, a beautiful trip through the English fall, you know, with all those fall leaves, a symphony in brown, every kind of brown and red. The whole day we were driven by the two--by the chauffeur and a butler--from one big castle to the other, and that was all the property of Lord Melchett. We didn't know that, but then the butler told us, "Would you like to go out from the car and look at the paintings inside?" Then they showed us. It was an old palace that was not lived in usually, but there were very beautiful antique things, and it all belonged all to Lord Melchett. Finally we arrived at his land house, or landed country estate, and it was enormous wide; the building was more low and long. All the rooms had names--our room had the name Halali--no numbers or so. There were lots of guests there, invited to meet us. And also Churchill was invited (he was not in power then), but he was not at home; he was traveling somewhere.

But they spoke a lot about him.

WESCHLER: In what terms? Was he respected?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was divided. And then for the evening, before we went to dinner, we all went to the big hall where a swimming pool was. It looked like a big Greek temple with columns, and there was a heated swimming pool--which was unheard of in those days.

WESCHLER: I gather they had no Rembrandts in the swimming pool room with all that heat?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, they didn't, but statues were there, Greek statues. And everybody had to be picked up by cars. They had little cars where--one part of the people who they invited were playing tennis, others golf, and so they had all to be gathered for the swimming pool and then later for dinner, first for drinks and hors d'oeuvres. I did my stuff with diving and things like that and was very much admired, but Lion was a little embarrassed. [laughter] I did also calisthenics, you know, those kind when you bend back so that your hands are on the floor. And then we went to the house for drinks. I was very thirsty, because we were the whole day on our way and had nothing to drink. So then I began to make somersaults inside, and handstands. Because I drank too much sherry. [laughter] But they were not shocked--it was very funny. Mrs. Melchett was a rather unusual person. She was very beautiful, tall and blond, and

she was Gentile (although Melchett was from Jewish descent). She wore a red pyjama, you know, what in those days you-- red pants, for evening, in red velvet. So that was absolutely unusual, unheard of. So nobody was very much astonished about me because Lady Melchett was already so eccentric.

Then Lady Melchett took my husband aside and told him a story which was very interesting. She told him about her sons, who were in a boarding house and came back on vacation and were very depressed. But they didn't say what it was. Then the younger one told her--she could persuade him to speak--that when over the radio it was told that the Melchetts converted to Judaism (he converted back, and she was Gentile and converted with him to Judaism) that then at night the other boys went into where they slept and beat them terribly, gave them a terrible beating. Nothing was spoken, not a word was spoken. And the next day it was like it didn't happen.

WESCHLER: Why had they converted?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was probably on account of the National Socialism already.

WESCHLER: But the boys had been beaten in English schools because of it?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. Later on, nothing was mentioned anymore. They didn't feel anything anti-Semitic or so, but in this night they just.... You know, it was not anti-Semitic,

in a way; it was that you don't do that when you are an English nobleman or so. You just don't do those things. It was more society.

WESCHLER: Do you have any other stories of your time in England?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I don't remember. Yes, then when we were together the next day, we were for breakfast together, and it was a very complicated breakfast. I never saw a thing like that: it was more like luncheon, brunch, and dinner together. You could have everything what you wanted. [It was] on a big table, and the Lady served you; she herself poured the tea. It was all very new to me, of course.

But I nearly forgot that in the evenings there came a lord from somewhere else--he came late after dinner--and he told Lion that he is so sorry that Churchill was not in town, because he spoke to him about Lion Feuchtwanger, said he was coming and he wanted to meet him. But he didn't say "Churchill." He always said "Winston," and I didn't know about whom he spoke because I wasn't used that you speak about a man like Churchill with the first name. He said "Winston" (maybe that's a name very common in England). So he always said, "Winston was so sorry," to my husband, and my husband didn't know who "Winston" was either. [laughter] He was a conservative, and also Melchett was rather conservative, and they spoke about the bad shape

in which the country is and the government is and largely politics and so, and then he said, "The only man who could save us is Winston." And afterwards I asked my husband, "Who's Winston?" [laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, what did you do as Lion left for America?

FEUCHTWANGER: I stayed for a few days to see more of London, about what my husband already has seen. I was in the British Museum and things like that. A man with the name of Feuchtwanger came and picked me up. I didn't know him before--I never heard about him before--but he showed me around, so it was very nice. And then the publisher, Secker, wanted that I come with him into a new restaurant which was absolutely the cry of the day. It was an Italian restaurant, one on the first floor. I was used to Italian cooking, of course, and I knew what I wanted and what I liked, but he was studying the menu for a long time. I said, "You have to eat that; that's very Italian." But finally he ordered a steak and a beer. That's the Englishman, you know. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Anyway, so eventually you left London and went where?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, and then there was a funny story also in the hotel. I had to pay the bill for both of us because I left a little longer, and the bill was enormously high. I looked at it, and I saw that they charged us with some

things which we never ate. For instance, caviar. I went to the manager and complained, and I had to wait a long time. The publisher said nobody else ever did those things, first of all; no English hotel would do something like that--"They don't do those things," he said--and then also that nobody complains. But finally they took it off the bill. So I was right. [laughter]

And then I went to Trier when I came back and.... I wanted to go skiing, but first I wanted to go to Berlin where our maid was. We had also the woman who first worked for us when we had this little apartment (she came for the laundry). And we had a gardener and his wife, who was the upstairs maid, and then I had another maid for downstairs. You had to have that; it was not necessary, probably, but it was lots of work to do because we had always so many visitors. I worked very much in the garden and then I did lots of things myself, my dresses myself and things like that. So I wanted to be there for Christmas to give them their Christmas gifts.

But before that I went to Trier, to the house of my friend Maria Kuntz. So there we were. It was very beautiful because Trier is one of the most beautiful cities of Germany. It was founded by the Romans and there are still the Roman ruins there, and also the walls around and the old cathedrals. And I have seen the most beautiful thing:

at night in an old street, we saw a church and went in.

The whole church was dark, with only one candle in a corner, and all of a sudden we heard the choir singing. That was the boys' choir, singing a chorale. And I never forgot this mood at this church.

WESCHLER: And then after that you went to Sankt Anton.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, after I was in Berlin to give our people the presents--I gave them Christmas presents--then I went to Sankt Anton. That is in Austria, in Tyrol.

WESCHLER: You've talked a bit about what happened there, about the Nazis coming to power. Let's return first though to what Lion was doing. He had gone to the United States.

How had he left England? By boat?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, by boat. There was no other way.

WESCHLER: And where did he go?

FEUCHTWANGER: Or he could swim, of course. I don't remember. I don't know the hotels.

WESCHLER: Was it just mainly New York?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, all over America. In New York he was in the best hotel, the Waldorf-Astoria. And there Mrs. [Eleanor] Roosevelt visited him, at this hotel.

WESCHLER: Was she an admirer of his writings?

FEUCHTWANGER: She was an admirer of his work. She knew that he had very little time because he had to make speeches all the time, also in Boston and everywhere, so she came

to see him in this hotel and brought him her photograph. He sent the photo to Germany, and I saw it there before I left. I never saw our house anymore then. But it was just arrived for Christmas, and I hung it somewhere. Our gardener wrote us afterwards that when the Nazis invaded our house, they saw the picture, recognized it ("Eleanor Roosevelt" was also written underneath), and they trampled on it and ruined it.

WESCHLER: Well, let's not get to that yet.

FEUCHTWANGER: They called her "The Old Sow" and trampled on it.

WESCHLER: Do you know any of the stories of his time in America? Did he talk about it at all?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know much about it. I only know that on Christmas he was invited at the estate of [Theodore] Dreiser. He was very unhappy there because Dreiser drunk a lot and was very gay and wanted him to carve the goose. He never did a thing like that--he wouldn't have known how to do--but Dreiser insisted that he had to do it. And he felt so uncomfortable before this mighty man, who was so strong and loud and gregarious--and Lion was more or less modest and shy--that he felt very unhappy there. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Did he respect Dreiser as a writer?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he did, very much. But Sinclair Lewis was more interesting to him, and also he thought a lot of

Upton Sinclair. There was one novel of Upton Sinclair which impressed him very much, Mountain City. It is about the people who buy stocks and at the end lose all their money, and only those who gave the stocks out get rich. Then the inflation came in America, you know, when there was first the "Black Friday" in '29. And when later in America, I met Huebsch again, when we arrived in 1940, I told him that we were warned from Upton Sinclair in reading Mountain City that we shouldn't trust the bankers too much with these stocks. And he said, "If I only had read this book, too! I published it, but I didn't read it." [laughter] He also was a great friend. I think he probably had read it; it was more a joke. He was a great friend of Upton Sinclair also. When he came here to see us, he always went to--I think Upton Sinclair lived in Santa Barbara or so. We only corresponded with him. I never saw him. But he wrote me letters, and he sent me his books and so. He didn't go out from his house, and we were more or less prisoners here.

WESCHLER: What other cities did Lion go to?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, everywhere. He was also in Athens in the South [Georgia] and in Los Angeles, where he met for the first time [Charlie] Chaplin. He has been shown around in the movies, the movie [studios]--Universal, or whatever it was. There also exist photos with him and Carl Laemmle,

one of the famous moviemakers then. Chaplin knew all of his books, and mostly he was smitten by Jud Süß. He told my husband he wants to play Jud Süß; he wants to make a movie Jud Süß. It has already been made this movie--no, this movie was made afterwards. He wanted to do it, and my husband had a great, hard time to dissuade him from this idea.

WESCHLER: Why did he want to dissuade him?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he didn't think that he could do it. He never before had played a serious part. Later on he played in Limelight, so my husband said, "I think I should have probably accepted him as Jud Süß." But he never thought he could do a thing like that.

WESCHLER: Was Lion immediately impressed with Los Angeles from the very start?

FEUCHTWANGER: He had not much time to be impressed. He had to see so many people, you know. He was only impressed by the bigness of the city. But in those days there was still lots of empty land. There were lots of orange trees everywhere, orange groves and poinsettia groves and things like that when you drove through the city. But more or less he was always very tired because he had to stay up very long and had to prepare his speeches for the next day or travel around.

WESCHLER: Where were these speeches given? At universities?

FEUCHTWANGER: I have no idea. He hated to speak. He accepted it only because his publisher insisted so much; Mr. Huebsch insisted he had to do it. But he was very much afraid of it. He thought his voice is too low, and he is not a good speaker, and his pronunciation is too bad, and his English is too bad. And he hated the whole thing. But he did it more or less out of a sense of duty.

WESCHLER: How did the audience respond?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he said it was always a great success, but he didn't understand why. [laughter] Because he found himself so terribly incompetent as a speaker.

WESCHLER: You told me one story about a woman who was knitting.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. Once he was very much disturbed because a woman just in the first row was knitting all the time. He thought, "Oh, she must be terrible bored that she doesn't forget knitting." But afterwards this lady came to him and wanted to shake his hand; then she said, "I don't wash my hands for a whole week since I have touched your hand." So he thought finally, "It must have been that she liked my books or my speech." [laughter]

TAPE NUMBER: XVI, SIDE ONE

AUGUST 5, 1975

FEUCHTWANGER: [sigh]

WESCHLER: Despite your sighing at the number of the tape, we still have more of Berlin to do, it turns out. So we'll start on that. The first thing I just want to note is an addition to something which we spoke about before: the play at which the white mice are released was [Erwin] Piscator's production of All Quiet on the Western Front.

FEUCHTWANGER: And it couldn't be played anymore. That was the first time and the last time. They were afraid of riots by the Nazis.

WESCHLER: Speaking of him and of the general cultural life set you to thinking about some of the cafés and so forth. You might talk a little bit about the scene.

FEUCHTWANGER: There was one we called the Romanisches Café, and this was on the Kurfürsten Damm, the main street of Berlin, the fashionable street. There was one other main street which was more decorative, where the big palaces were and also the big castle of the Kaiser, Unter den Linden ["Under the Lime Trees"]. But Kurfürsten Damm was the street which was the lifeline of whole Berlin with best shops and so, and on one end was this Romanische Café. It seemed as

if it was once a palace or so, and there--it looked rather shopworn, and this was probably the attraction for the people who came there. There were many kind of artists, actors, musicians, and writers, of course. It was like in the Torggelstube, only everything was bigger in Berlin. There were different tables where the different kinds of taste were sitting, the very modern or the very arrived, and on other tables were those who had not yet arrived and were full of contempt for those who had arrived, that they couldn't be so much because they had so much success and things like that. Some could change from one table to the other. We could do that sometimes. But some were absolutely not welcome.

WESCHLER: Who were some of the people at each of the tables?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, there were writers--I don't remember so much the names. (And I wouldn't even mention them, because those who were then not very well known are now better known; and if I mention them only when they were not known, that would be very much against their--they wouldn't be very content: they would hear only that they were just contemptible for us and they were nobody then. But they were younger and some took longer to getting famous, ja. They are now well known in Germany, not so well known in the other countries, but in Germany. One is a president of the PEN Club, and things like that. So I couldn't name

those people.) [laughter]

WESCHLER: We'll let you get by, I suppose. Could you talk by name, though, about some of the other people who were there? You said that Reinhardt was there.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, Reinhardt came and all his actors were always there. Reinhardt was much in Austria, in Vienna, so he was not so often there. But for instance, who was regular there was Jessner, who was a big, big man. He was director of the State Theatres, of the Opera in Berlin, and of the other State Theatre which was in Weisbaden. He had to travel a lot from one to the other and was really a kind of czar of the theater. He liked to be with all those Bohemians, and also the actors who he was most interested in also came there--[Oskar] Homolka, and Gerda Müller, Ernst Deutsch, Fritz Kortner. Gerda Müller chided me when Brecht sang his ballad. She was always there, and the new star, Maria Koppenhöfer, who was my friend and whom I guided when she was a beginner. Then there was Bronnen there, and Brecht, and Johannes Becher. He was first an expressionist and made poems, big poems; one was called "Ecrasite," and it was so outwordish--how do you call that?

WESCHLER: Outlandish.

FEUCHTWANGER: Outlandish, ja, that's the word. Full of pathos and very shrill, you know. You could hear almost how shrill it was, with newly coined words, almost not

understandable, and no full--no sentences were ending, you know; it was almost a cry. He later was to write poems which were absolutely great poetry. But this was just the end of this period of expressionism. There was also Alfred Wolfenstein; he was also an expressionistic poet first (he had been arrested in Munich during the Räteregierung.) Everybody who was somebody came to this café. We were not so often there because my husband was working and didn't want to lose much time. But sometimes, when you wanted to meet somebody and it was too difficult to come to our house, which was a little far away, and also the others lived on the other side far away, so the best was always to meet in the café. That is the same as in Paris, and in no other city. Maybe only Vienna and Munich and Paris and Berlin had this kind of institution like an artistic café.

WESCHLER: Were there any Nazis on the periphery of that café?

FEUCHTWANGER: Probably there were but we didn't know them--except Bronnen. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Outside of him, at the tables, were there people wearing armbands and so forth at the café? Was that part of that life too?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. Everybody knew each other mostly. Mostly they didn't like each other, but they knew each

other. And Johannes R. Becher became later the minister of culture in East Germany. He was instrumental for Brecht becoming his theater and helping him also to make the theater: The Berliner Ensemble. Without his help it would have been impossible. He was really the protector of Brecht in his later years, after the Nazi time, after the war.

WESCHLER: Well, we'll catch that story a little bit later on. In general, you've been mentioning the way in which the expressionism of the war period and the early twenties gave way to this new realism.

FEUCHTWANGER: That was called new realism and it was against naturalism. That's a great difference.

WESCHLER: What was the German name for this?

FEUCHTWANGER: Die Neue Sachlichkeit. And Sachlichkeit is "facts," you know. "Give me the facts," for instance: that would be "Sachlich." But it was not so much created or it was not so much developed against expressionism but against naturalism, which came after the people became a little tired of expressionism. And before expressionism there was also naturalism. There was Gerhardt Hauptmann and Ibsen and all those writers. But for instance Strindberg, you couldn't call him a naturalist. It was much more--nobody thought about Strindberg, although he was played a lot then. But nobody thought that much of it had already been

done by Strindberg and also Wedekind in a way. But everything was more tight; it was not so expanded with so many words. Also what Brecht made new was that it was not so much spoken, but rather the gesture was first, before the spoken word. It went together, so it was also--everything was in a way shorter. And tighter. You couldn't say it was atmospheric, the mood--there were no moody plays like, for instance, [Anton] Chekhov or so--but it was new and it scratched the people. They were against it, but they were attracted by it. It was not a great financial success usually, but people ran of course into the first nights and spoke about it a lot. Now it's still the same with Brecht: he's so famous, but he isn't played so much. When he is played in America, it is more in the universities than in the theaters. And in those days it was the same. There was also a man with the name of Moritz Seeler. He was a man who had a little fortune, inherited probably; he was a very unassuming man, but he was just a fanatic for the theater, and for this new theater mostly for the new writers. For instance, he made Bronnen known in Berlin because he just created a new theater for him. He rented one of the good theaters and played his plays in a matinee.* So that most of the interesting and most revolutionary theater has been played in matinees, not in the evenings.

*In her notes, Mrs. Feuchtwanger writes: "Poor little Moritz Seeler rented Viktor Barnowsky's theater; later the Nazis killed him."

Because there were no theaters available, real theaters didn't accept those plays. They wouldn't have made money, and they wouldn't have had the audience.

WESCHLER: What kinds of plays were in the real theaters?

FEUCHTWANGER: The real theaters were lots of Hauptmann and Shakespeare and Ibsen and Strindberg. Although Strindberg was the one who was more modern than the others, or out of the way. And Wedekind was played constantly. And then a lot of French comedies. That was a great mode, I would say, or fashion, to introduce French comedies, and Bruno Frank translated most of them. He made more money with that than with his own plays.

WESCHLER: So that oddly enough this modern life with which we think of in Berlin, when we think of this great night life of Berlin, on the contrary, was taking place at matinees?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was; it was the art which was the matinees or the theater. But what they called the night life, nobody knew about it. I was very much astonished when I read here about the Berlin night life, because nobody was interested in it. That was usually for the people who came from the provinces, you know, little cities, and they looked for the nightclubs. But it had nothing to do with cabaret. Because cabaret was something very literate. There were those great artists usually and great musicians who made those kinds of songs which was very new. There was

Friedrich Holländer, who wrote the music and this song for Marlene Dietrich in the movie The Blue Angel, but mostly it was satirical and political. Those were the greatest adversaries of Hitler, and many of those men have been killed by Hitler. They were the first to have been arrested and put in concentration camp and killed.

WESCHLER: Have you seen the movie Cabaret?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I haven't seen it. I was angry about it, you know, because it was...I read about it. It was so wrong that I didn't want to have any part of it. And also the novel which was the beginning of it.

WESCHLER: Isherwood's Berlin Stories.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, Isherwood's Berlin Stories had not much to do with Berlin. There is an American girl and a Frenchman and an Englishman. Nobody knew all those cafés or whatever they were where they stayed; it was more or less invented. You should once--maybe you should interview Isherwood to hear about it. I never spoke with him about it, but I know him very well, and he is a great writer, and I admire him very much, also as a person, a very interesting person. But this was just not Berlin as the Berliners saw it; it was Berlin as an Englishman saw it, maybe. He wanted to see it like that. He went there where the hotel manager told the people [when they asked], "Well, where should I go tonight?" But the Berlin people didn't go there. Then the

foreigners went--they made those things for foreigners, and the Berlin people were very contemptuous about all this kind of stuff and they were not interested also. For instance, Munich was more like that during the time around 1900 when they imitated the Paris of the Grand Guignol in Munich, Wedekind and Thomas Mann, and they had this kind of Simplicissimus and Serenissimus and the Eleven Hangmen, as one was called, Elf Scharfrichter or the Ueberbrettelle (Bretter-Stage). This was much more sexy in a way, because it was so new for Munich. But in Berlin I know only that the people who wanted to see sexy things or live something like that, see something, they went to Paris. Then they spoke about that and they said, "Isn't it a pity that in Berlin you can't find that?" [laughter]

WESCHLER: How about film? You haven't talked at all about film. First of all I wanted to ask you whether you knew any of the great giants of the Berlin film scene.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, I knew Fritz Lang, but he was very busy always, and we didn't see him often. But I saw his movies there. And I saw here again Metropolis, and I was amazed: it was just, it was so strikingly modern--except for the girl who has such a little red mouth (no, it wasn't red--it was not in the colors--but it looked so very little, this mouth, and she looked so silly); she was later on very idealistic, and you had to take it because it was in those

times. But all the other things, the architecture (Fritz Lang studied architecture before he was a movie man) and all those masses, and how he moved the masses: that was absolutely one of the first-class modern movies, of which there are not many. And the other things were absolutely new in the way he made people frighten. He could make people frighten, like in M with Peter Lorre, because he never showed any violence on the film. But you felt it, that it had happened. You didn't need to see it: it was much more frightening because you didn't see it. He was greater than I realized in those days, when I see it now.

WESCHLER: Today there is a great controversy as to whether film is an art form.

FEUCHTWANGER: I'm sure it is an art form.

WESCHLER: What I'm wondering is whether the film makers were considered part of the artistic community in Berlin at that time.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, not so much. It was not considered art in those days. Fritz Lang or Jean Renoir, they made art against their will, I could almost say: they couldn't do otherwise. It was in them. They did it because they--and then also they had success, but other small men didn't have those success. For instance, [Friedrich Wilhelm] Murnau was one of the greater, and I don't remember the others--[Carl] Mayer, I think, was one. They made big

movies and very modern movies also--but they were for the smaller audience. But Renoir had this great success with Grand Illusion.

WESCHLER: With Erich Von Stroheim.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. This was, of course, a great sensation, all the time and with everybody. But this was just so great and so new and so interesting and so humane, also, that it had to be a great success. But the other great movies were much more in a way like the Italian movies, like Dino de Laurentiis, with lots of people.

WESCHLER: Spectacles.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, spectacles.

WESCHLER: Were the film makers like Fritz Lang looked down upon by the rest of the theater people and so forth? Was there much intercourse between them?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, but, you know, those people they had not such a great staff like they have here. They had to do so much themselves, they didn't have time to mingle with the other people. Either they were great men, and then they had no time, or they were Bohemians who worked from time to time. But when they were great, they couldn't mingle with the others: they just didn't have the time.

WESCHLER: But were they respected?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course. Ja, ja. And also Jessner, who was a theater director, made films which were absolutely

new in those times, because he worked with stairs. So that when the heroine had to go down the stairs, very slowly or so, or they had to run up--it was absolutely new, a stair in a film in those days. He played with the stairs, you know, and that made him famous. It was new. There was an actress, Henny Porten, and with her--she was very famous, but everybody laughed about her because she was so bland for us. But he made a great actress out of her. And then there was Asta Nielsen, this famous actress. Did you ever hear about her? She was a Swedish actress, and she played Fraulein Julia by Strindberg. It was fantastic, just fantastic; I could never forget her. She played with William Dieterle, who was Jean, the servant. She was the daughter of a great estate; her father had a great estate. They fell in love with each other, but he was married in the film with Lucie Höflich, the cook (she was one of the great actresses in those times). William Dieterle played with Asta Nielsen this part of Jean, and later Dieterle came here and was the best paid movie director of his time.

WESCHLER: Where were films shown? Were there many theaters?

FEUCHTWANTER: Yes, there were great theaters. In those times they looked great, for us; now they would be small theaters probably. The best were always shown in the theater on the zoo, the film theater on the zoo. There was a big zoo there. I remember the zoo was not great shakes but the movie theater was good. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Were there many theaters in Berlin?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh yes, not so many as now, because people didn't go to the movies so much. They went more to the real theater. Germany was a theater people. It was more because it was cheaper than the theater that they went there.

WESCHLER: Talking German film, one has to talk about The Blue Angel. Did that make a great impact when it came out?

FEUCHTWANGER: Enormously, ja, enormously. Mostly about Marlene Dietrich who sang. She was first in a cabaret; she sang in a cabaret. This kind of artist--she was like she was in this play. She sang in plays, but only in an elegant role, an elegant dress. Very elegant, like she still is now. She was one of the most famous diseuses, they were called, you know, singing and speaking. So this was what was in the cabarets. And there was another one who was just the contrary; she was very long and thin and blond. And she married later the actor who played with Marlene Dietrich in The Blue Angel. She was more humoristic.

WESCHLER: What was her name?

FEUCHTWANGER: [Gussy] Holl.

WESCHLER: What did Heinrich Mann think of The Blue Angel?

FEUCHTWANGER: Well, of course, he was very enthusiastic. I was not very happy with the man who was in the novel Professor Unrat. [In the novel], he was a small and rather micric man, you know, and [Emil] Jannings was so

tall. I was very much--I thought it was not like in the novel. I was wrong because he was a great actor and he persuaded people who didn't know the novel. His impression was very--he made a great impression. So it was absolutely right probably to take him because he was a great actor, instead of taking one who would look more like the man in the novel and wouldn't be a great actor. But I was not so versed in movie art in those days.

WESCHLER: And Heinrich Mann was completely satisfied?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was very satisfied, ja. And don't forget [The Cabinet of] Dr. Caligari, with Werner Kraus and Conrad Veidt, camera Carl Freund.

WESCHLER: Before we leave the subject of movies, I just wanted to make sure we include the nice little story of Fritz Lang as a moneylender.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, I met Helli [Weigel] on the street by chance. We had just come out from the subway. Fritz Lang didn't live far away from our house, and she said, "I've just come from Fritz Lang. I needed some money."

[laughter] And he gave it to her, of course. They were old friends from Vienna.

WESCHLER: Okay. Moving on to a different facet of the new realism, Die Neue Sachlichkeit, I wanted to talk a little bit about the Bauhaus, and how you responded to that. First of all, how did the Bauhaus architecture make

itself felt in Berlin? Were there exhibitions?

FEUCHTWANGER: Most of the architects imitated Gropius and his Bauhaus style. The modern architects. I was a very good friend of one of them who wanted to build a house for my husband--not for money, but because he wanted that he could say, "I built the house for Lion Feuchtwanger." But we couldn't get together.

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: [Henri] Rosenthal. He was very good, and he built beautiful houses for certain people who fitted in it. But I couldn't come together with his way. We were very good friends, and he didn't mind that I did not. I had no architect, no inner architect. I did it all by myself. And he thought from what I did--he couldn't say, of course--probably, maybe, he didn't like it at all, but he wouldn't say it because we were good friends. He was a little disappointed, but we were still friends also afterwards.

WESCHLER: You might talk a little bit about your house in this context. To what extent was it influenced by the Bauhaus, your own design for the house?

FEUCHTWANGER: I could say it looked a little like the house of your grandfather [Ernst Toch (811 Franklin St., Santa Monica)]. That's true, it was a little bit the style.

WESCHLER: So on the outside were the same kinds of austere,

lean lines.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, very simple. Only it was a little higher; it had a higher roof because under the roof was the roof garden. The maid also had her room there. But I liked the house of your grandfather better because I liked that it was low, and our house was a little higher. But it was necessary, and also the house we had was almost finished from outside, the walls were finished, and to change the whole style would have been too complicated. It was already expensive enough, so we didn't have too much money left for it. But I can only say that I liked the house of your grandfather better. But our house was much bigger and had more room. And I liked the landscape.

WESCHLER: Were you influenced by the Bauhaus on the inside of the house?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. Only it was maybe influenced--but I don't think I was influenced, it was already my taste anyway--to have everything very simple. In those days they had still wallpaper, very busy wallpaper, and I hated that. And also that every room had to have another color: that was a had-to-be, you know, other colors in the whole, the carpeting and everything. I had mostly very light colors, a little bit shaded, upstairs; it was more golden, like the sun--it was not gold, it was very light yellow. I always told the architect it should look like the sun shines,

because Berlin is a very drab city, and never much, very rarely any sun in the winter. So from inside, I said, it has to give sunshine. And he was--he only looked at me and said, "I [will] do that the same with my other houses." And then I didn't want doors; I wanted open walls so you could see from one room into the other, and it would look almost like one room. It was around the corner, so it was not a long apartment, but it was one long, big room, you could say. And then the shelves were built in--of course, that was also new. The newer style of the shelves had everything inside, for instance, the typewriter and all those things; you couldn't see them except somebody was writing on it. You could put the whole typewriter inside so it would disappear. Also I had bought only antique furniture which I found in those secondhand stores in the seamy part of Berlin, and I found a lot of very beautiful rugs, real antique Persian rugs which people threw out because they were a little faded (what was just the value of them). But people wanted strong colors and so, you know, and they preferred the imitated.

WESCHLER: You had already had very nice rugs in Munich.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, I inherited from my mother. One was a very big Smyrna carpet, a rug which was light gray and light blue. Almost the whole room was covered with it. And then in Munich, just before I left, at an auction,

I bought a Sarouk, which is a very rare Persian rug. It fitted so well to the whole landscape because it was light red and a little yellow, beige with yellow in it. I paid \$600 for it, and it was a lot of money for my mind, but when the director of the museum in Munich (who was kind of the hero of Success), when he came to see us in Berlin, when he saw this carpet he swallowed for admiration; he couldn't believe it, something like that. He said, "If you had paid \$6,000 for it, it would not have been too much." So I was very proud about that. Most of all, I didn't care if something was valuable or not; I just wanted that it fits with the other things. And also the cupboards and all that: the chest of drawers were beautiful old wood and treated, not like in the Bauhaus with washable tops or so, which I hated, those plastic things--it was absolutely new then, and many people took it for granted that it has to be like that. But I couldn't get the taste of it. Then we had corner cupboards. The top was with glass and below it was a little bigger, and then we had also our old silver in it, because my husband and I, mostly I was.... My father was the only heir of this old silver in the family. His things were so rare that during the war of 1812, which was called the Liberation War, against Napoleon, everybody had to bring their silver to be melted into money. But they didn't accept those things; there was a

special stamp on it that it wasn't accepted because it was too valuable. And those things we had all in those cupboards.

WESCHLER: What was the general layout? I understand that you designed the layout of the house largely for Lion's use. How did that actually work out? How were the rooms spaced?

FEUCHTWANGER: The biggest room, which usually is called the drawing room, was his study. But when he wasn't working, it looked like a drawing room because with one turn of the hand you could hide the typewriter. Most important was a very big table which came from a monastery. Probably it was Gothic; it was absolutely without any ornament, only straight, and very big and broad. Arnold Zweig writes about it in a sketch [Uber Schriftsteller], about how he walked always from his house to our house through the landscape instead of going around through the city. And he always said it was the best time of his life there, where we met each other sometimes in the middle and then we went either to our house or to his house, and back and forth all the time. And he mentions this table.

WESCHLER: One other thing you told me about before we turned on the tape was your bedroom, which sounded like that of a princess.

FEUCHTWANGER: [laughter] Ja, it was a little crazy, but it was so simple also; the lines were so simple. I found

two antique beds which were mahogany; the design of their wood was called "Flame." And I wanted one king-sized bed made out of it, and that was not even expensive because those antique people had always carpenters to fix their things. One of those carpenters put them together, and it was easy because the flame was just the same on the two beds. Then as this bed was standing.... I took off the legs so it was very low, and I put it on a step. The step was much broader and larger than the bed itself, so you had to step up, and it was like to go to a throne. And I did something which was absolutely unfashionable anymore, in those times: it had a canopy which was made out of raw silk. On four sides there were curtains, but they never were closed, they were just hanging on the columns. But it looked so good together. It had a unity; it made a unity with the bed. The architect, who wanted to be also more modern--he wasn't so modern like Rosenthal was--but he said, "How can you do that, make a canopy?" I said, "I just like it." [laughter]

WESCHLER: You were telling me about some responses of some other architects, particularly the Bauhaus architects, to your house.

FEUCHTWANGER: First came Ellen Frank, who was the sister-in-law of Gropius, the sister of Mrs. Gropius. She came with her friend Moholy-Nagy, who designed for her a very

modern apartment. She was absolutely for Bauhaus and all those things. When she came--we were very good friends--she said, "I don't think that Gropius would like that." She came with her friend Moholy-Nagy. He was very famous; he's still a very famous painter. Also here at the Gropius exhibition there were his paintings. But he was a Hungarian, so when he made great compliments, I didn't believe it, because I knew the Hungarians are always very courteous to women. So I thought he would never say anything what could displease me, and I was still very apprehensive when Gropius would come. But he came someday for tea with his wife, and he said, "That's absolutely charming, like you did that. It is so much for Lion. It fits to him, and that's what's most important." That's what also later [Richard] Neutra told me when I met him here; he said that when he builds the houses, and also the inside, he has to know the people before it. Also even speak with them and eat with them and stay with them. So Gropius said, "This is a house which couldn't be otherwise for Lion Feuchtwanger." And also I insisted that it should be empty; in those days they had still very crowded houses. It was rather empty. Furniture only on the walls--in the middle there was nothing. I had no love seat or something like that. The middles were always like here in this house, a little bit empty. And so the whole thing looked

much bigger than it really was.

WESCHLER: I'd like little character portraits of both Moholy-Nagy and then Gropius.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, Moholy-Nagy was always very enthusiastic of everything, very vivacious and very charming. He was not so good looking, but Gropius was a wonderful-looking man. But you forgot when you were with Moholy-Nagy that he was not good looking because he was so sympathetic and so open-minded and hearty. But Gropius was tall and very serious looking; he looked almost like a sculpture, like a Gothic sculpture. He wouldn't make any compliments if he didn't believe it or so. He wouldn't say anything against his own taste. And I felt really great--I grew high--when he told me that it was the right thing to do.

WESCHLER: Was this at the time when he was married to Alma Mahler?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, it was after that. Ja, that was his wife who still is alive [Ise Frank]. She was here in Pasadena; she came here when the big Gropius exhibition was here. And she even brought up for a while the daughter which Alma Mahler had with Gropius [Manon]. The daughter always came for half a year to their house. She died young. She was very beautiful, the daughter of Gropius and Alma. She died of poliomyelitis. [Carl] Zuckmayer was--she was very much younger than Zuckmayer, but he

wanted to marry her; he was very much in love with her.
He told me so. [tape stopped]

The garden was very small in a way. There were big pine trees, enormous pine trees. Some I had to take out, which was--my heart was bleeding, but there was no room for a lawn or so. But I was so proud when I first came; the first night I was there in the house, I said, "This is my tree." And then I had to take it out. The garden was a small lawn, and there was a weeping willow in one corner, and underneath was a basin for the swimming turtle, or the water turtle. And then it went again slowly down and directly into the Grunewald, directly into the forest, so you didn't--the garden looked enormous because you didn't see a fence. There was a fence, but it was invisible, so it looked without any borders. The terrace of the garden was a stone garden, in a way, with those low plants, and from there you could see the deer going around and it was absolutely.... It was a Naturschutzpark, what you call here, like the Grand Canyon.

WESCHLER: A national park.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was a national park, ja. Protected. It couldn't be built or sold or so. And from there, we went directly from the garden always with our coach down into the woods and made our jogging around the little lake which was not far away. We could run around the lake, and this

lake was very beautiful with water lilies. In the summer I had a horse there, rented a horse there. I could swim in summer, and in winter I could skate there. The only thing was that sometimes came a man there who was a maniac, an exhibitionist and so. I was always there very early when nobody was there. But I thought--I was not afraid of him; it was just not pleasant to have him around. I wasn't afraid. I didn't think about that it could happen that he was armed or have a weapon. I just thought I would take care of him if he tries something. [laughter] [tape stopped]

WESCHLER: Well, having relooked at Berlin--and no doubt I have a feeling we will continue to look at it again occasionally--let's for the time being return to where we left off, which is with Lion in America in 1932-33. Do you have any other memories of his time in America?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. The only thing which I remember which I forgot the last time was that he was invited in Chicago by a man who was a very rich man. As it turned out later, he was an Englishman and a member of parliament before. He married into the Swift family. That's why he was so rich. He lived in a big palace, a kind of palace, and there was a whole apartment for guests, and this apartment was at the disposal of my husband. With separate servants also. He gave a big party for my husband and invited all

the great bankers and merchants and industrialists. They were very curious what my husband would say, what was his impression. But my husband always liked to hear others, what others say, so then he turned the conversation around to their things, their interests. And he found out how terribly depressed they all were. One of the great merchants told him, "It is probably now the end of capitalism. There is no way out of this Depression." It was in '32, during the [Herbert] Hoover government. But they were not--my husband said the funny thing was that they were not afraid and also not hateful. They were just depressed. And without hope.

WESCHLER: How did Lion compare the Depression in the United States to the Depression in Germany?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, it was ideal. [laughter] In comparison you know. Nobody he [met], of course, was hungry. But he heard afterwards many people died under the bridges because they have died of starvation.

WESCHLER: You are saying that in the United States it was worse than in Germany?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no, no. He found it just incomprehensible how well the people lived here. But later on he heard--also because he inquired about it (he only was invited by the rich people, but he was interested how other people lived)--and then he heard that many died under

the bridges. It was not like now that people had been helped by the government. The only thing was that he saw people standing on streets for hot soup, standing in line for hot soup. It was like the Quakers or whatever that was. But it was not like now with insurances. In those days everybody was already thinking about Roosevelt, who was already elected in the fall, but he was not yet installed, and they had great hopes. That's the only thing which they said: "Maybe Roosevelt will bring a new life in our country." Which also was realized then. But that was the only hope they had.

This man where he was invited had married into the Swift packing family. This is a very funny thing, because when we bought the house here, this house, the daughter of this man was married with a German count who lived up here on the hill. And we found out later on that they were connected.

WESCHLER: I see. What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Count Ostheim.

WESCHLER: The man who married into the Swift family, what was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. I wasn't here and my husband didn't tell me the name because it wouldn't have made any sense for me. He just said he married into the Swift family.

WESCHLER: Okay. Let's continue with Lion in America.

Under what circumstances did he hear of Hitler's becoming chancellor?

FEUCHTWANGER: He probably read it in the newspaper--no, no. I think I told you already the story.

WESCHLER: You told me but not the tape.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, I see. He was invited in Washington by the German ambassador, who gave a banquet for him. He invited many people, also many senators, and they all wanted to know from my husband what he thinks about politics and what happened in Germany, if he is optimistic or pessimistic about the whole thing. And my husband only said, "Hitler means war. If ever he came to power, Hitler means war." And the next morning there was a headline in the newspapers in Washington, "Feuchtwanger says, 'Hitler means war.'" He sent me all the newspapers, but they were lost when we had to flee from France. And the next morning, the ambassador called my husband at his hotel and said, "Don't fall out of your bed. Hitler came to power." He was a Count [Friedrich] von Prittwitz [und Goffron] and he said, "I don't go back. I don't want to have to do anything with Hitler. I have my family in Austria, and I'm going to Austria from here, because I don't want to stay on as his ambassador." That's what he did. And then they heard about that and shot him down with his plane over Germany.

WESCHLER: In 1933, at this time?

FEUCHTWANGER: Already in 1933, ja.

TAPE NUMBER: XVI, SIDE TWO

AUGUST 5, 1975

WESCHLER: Lion is in Washington, D.C., saying some outlandish things about Hitler which are not going to help things at all for you.

FEUCHTWANTER: Ja, ja, really, that's true. Of course, he was interviewed about Hitler the next day and he said that he thinks Hitler is absolutely ridiculous and he cannot understand his effect on the people, his power over the people. Hitler doesn't even know his own language, because in the book, My Struggle, he made as many grammatical mistakes as there were words. And this was immediately printed also in the German newspapers. That was the reason why they invaded our house and plundered it and ruined it, and also that I was in danger, and when I wanted to go back to save something, I couldn't go back. They wouldn't have looked for me when I was skiing if it wasn't the reason that they read about that. It was all over the whole Germany and all the newspapers.

WESCHLER: You were in Sankt Anton.

FEUCHTWANGER: I was in Sankt Anton.

WESCHLER: Okay. How many days after Hitler came to power was your house invaded?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know. I wasn't there. I had also no news about it. A great time later, our maid and also

our coach wrote us letters, but they had to be very careful, of course. The maid or her husband, who was our gardener and at the same time also the maintenance man of the house, he wrote us what happened. I had had his mother coming from Silesia because it was so cold there. We had room for her in the basement apartment, and I--he always told me how terrible cold it is there, so I told him, "Let your mother come. She can live here with you." And then, when the Nazis came, they asked him how he was treated by the Feuchtwangers, and he said, "Oh, I couldn't find better people to work for." And then they began to beat him because he said that, very seriously, and then they said, "And now we shoot you." (That's what he wrote us.) They brought him out into the garden to shoot him. His mother and his wife were still in the house, and they heard shots. But he was very nimble, and he escaped in the night. He knew where to go directly into the woods, into the forest. They followed him, but they didn't find him. It was night, and a dark night it was. But his wife and his mother thought that he was dead. For days. He didn't go back, and he also didn't telephone or so; he was afraid he could endanger them. Later on, after some time, he was with relatives of his wife, and then he wrote me and told me all that. And also the coach of my husband, of both of us, he wrote always letters. How he did that, without being in danger,

we didn't know, but he wrote not only about my husband's new exercises he had to make (and explained them very thoroughly), but he also informed us always what happened with our house, what they plundered. He went always back to the house to look. Right after the war we had also a correspondence with him.

WESCHLER: What did happen with the house? Actually, physically?

FEUCHTWANGER: They stole everything out, first of all. We had something absolutely new that even the Berliners didn't have--those indirect lightings in the ceiling, built in. I did that: I heard about it, that they do it in America, and I tried as good as I could. I designed the whole thing myself, and also what came from America, absolutely new in a very modern shop. There were indirect lamps like this one which the light going up. That was not known in Berlin. And those things they immediately took away. In every room we had those floor lamps. And then we had a new cleaner for the carpets, which was very new with hot, damp water, a steamer--it was absolutely new; you could with that clean the carpets and the rugs--and also a vacuum cleaner. All those things, they took: whatever was movable, they took out. But they left the books; most of the books they left at first. And so Kahn-Bieker, who was an assistant of my husband for research, he could

come; he went there and he took some of the very good books out and sent them by mail to Sanary. Just like that.

WESCHLER: And they arrived?

FEUCHTWANGER: But when the second time came and he wanted to take some more books out, there were already the seals there and he couldn't go in anymore. Also the rugs and all that he couldn't take out. He thought he could save that. He was very fresh, you know; he took just a taxi and said, "You take that out of the house; they are friends of mine." And he took them out. He wanted the next time-- he said, "Tomorrow we come and take all the rugs out." But it was already sealed. He couldn't take out anything anymore.

WESCHLER: You've said in a different context that you believe that some of the books that you later purchased here in America were from the original library.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that's true. Some of the most valuable books. We had no bookplate in them or name or so, so they could not sell them. They sold them in an auction, I heard. Very cheap. I only hope that the books came in the right hands, I always say. But then it seems that some of the books came to the great book dealers, antique-book dealers. They sold us books, and my husband said, "It seems to me that this one I owned already before." They were so rare. It was not very possible that there were more of them.

WESCHLER: What later became of the house itself? Do you have any idea?

FEUCHTWANGER: I heard that a Count [von Witzleben] lived in the house for a while. He was a great admirer of my husband, and he talked to somebody whom he knew was going to France, and he said, "If you see Mr. Feuchtwanger, tell him that I'm very proud to live in his house, and he will be the first to get back his house when he comes back." But this man died afterwards, I think, and then it was some simple people who lived there. I don't know what they were. I only heard by my lawyer that they were living there, and it was difficult to get the house back [even though] we had the right to get the house back.

WESCHLER: The house survived the war.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was like this: the lawyer was a swindler, the lawyer we had.* The German secretary [Lola Sernau-Humm], who lived in Switzerland, discovered--she didn't discover him. She discovered a good lawyer [Walter Braun]. And he left for Israel--he lived in Israel--and he wrote me that he gave his whole practice, his whole business, to a younger man who was a Gentile. He couldn't sell it anymore; he just gave it to him. He heard later from other people who also worked with this man that he became a swindler. He wasn't before; either it was because he was afraid of

*Mrs. Feuchtwanger chose not to name this lawyer, partly "out of fear of a libel action."

the Nazis or so.... Anyway, he told us when [we demanded] the right to restitution that the house was bombed, that we couldn't get anything out of the house. Then he wrote another letter and said he heard that the house was damaged and it costs \$15,000 before we get the house back because the people who lived there paid for this damage, \$15,000, and if we wanted the house back, we have to retribute this money. And then, and all those kinds--it seems to me that he was paid by some underlings in the German government. The higher-ups were very good: [Konrad] Adenauer, who was then the prime minister and president, and all those people wanted to really.... But there were people who sabotaged the whole thing, lower officials.

WESCHLER: Was that common, do you think, this kind of lower sabotage?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, no. It was common when people didn't find out, I mean, but many people found out later. They had lawyers here in America who found out what happened there. But we trusted this man because the secretary of my husband went to Berlin, from Switzerland--my husband had to pay for the trip and for her clothes which she needed--and she was with this lawyer, and she told my husband that he's a very good lawyer. But, you know, the funny thing was that neither she nor the lawyer were ever in the house or looked at the house. Not even the secretary

who went for my husband looked at the house. We had here Mr. [Eric] Scudder--you probably heard the name, Mr. Scudder, who is also a great protector of music, of [Henri] Temianka, of the Music Center and all that; he died last year, very old, over eighty--and he went to Europe with his wife for a trip. He was in Paris and he said, "Let's go to Berlin and look what happened to the house of Mr. Feuchtwanger."

(Because he made our will. Later, when my husband has died, he gave me advice with money and so. As a friend.) He said, "Let's go to Berlin, look at the house." So he went to the lawyer and said, "I would like to see the house of Mr. Feuchtwanger." Then the lawyer said, "I don't know where it is. I'll have to look it up." So Mr. Scudder found out that our lawyer had never even looked at the house.

WESCHLER: What was the name of your lawyer in Germany?

FEUCHTWANGER: Skruppa or something like that. And then we heard later that he was really a swindler. I heard it from the consulate here, that we were not the only ones who he swindled. It seems that with all what had to be evaluated, he got money from those people when he made it very low. So he was paid double, paid by us, and.... And he had not even the right, which I was told later by the consul here, to ask for that. All those restitution things had to be done for nothing. The government paid for it in a certain sum. But we had to pay always 10 percent for

everything what he got for restitution for us, and then the German secretary got 10 percent because she said she made it with the lawyer, and then both didn't say that the house--the house was not even mentioned in the restitution. So there was here a society who took care of things which were lost where the people were dead already, when they didn't know to whom something belonged; and they heard about it, that the house is still there, and nobody was taking care of it, and nobody paid for it. So they came to me--J.R.S.A. [Jewish Restitution Successor Organization] or something like that--and said, "You know that the house has never been asked for as a remuneration." And then they said, "We can do the necessary--we can do it with our organization, but we have to ask 25 percent because this money doesn't go into our organization, it is used for other people who had the same trouble." And of course we were very--we liked to pay for that and so 45 percent we lost from our money.

WESCHLER: But you did eventually get some money from them.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, we got some money, but only because this lawyer here wrote this lawyer in Berlin what happened and asked why did he never look. He had said first that the whole house was destroyed, and then he said \$15,000 had to be paid--that was all not true. There was just some burning of the winter garden. The house beside was absolutely

destroyed, very near our house. And there came some sparks on the roof, and there was some damage on the roof and in the winter garden--that was all.

WESCHLER: Were you near anything that would have been a military target?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, no, it was far out. Like in Bel-Air, there wouldn't be any military target. That's why it was not also in any great danger in a way. But the house in the neighborhood was an enormous big house, like a palace; this maybe was standing out, and it has been destroyed. And I heard that some sparks from this big house came to our house, to the roof of our house.

WESCHLER: Well, when you went back to Berlin, did you ever visit the house?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I didn't want to see it anymore. I was very near to it, because there was a big party given for me in a castle which was always the castle of the guests of the kaiser. There they gave a big...but I didn't.... I could have come there, but I just didn't want to see it anymore.

WESCHLER: Well, we'll hear about the party when we get there. Right now I'd like to return. We still have a problem with Lion in Washington, D.C., and you in Sankt Anton.

FEUCHTWANGER: But I still have to finish that story

with the house and the lawyer: later on, I got a letter from the lawyer. He said he doesn't work anymore with Lola, with the secretary, because she is a terrible person; she sort of blackmailed him and all kinds of stuff. And then she wrote me a letter that said she couldn't--that this lawyer is a swindler. All of a sudden--at first they were so good friends. We couldn't know; we couldn't find out what happened. Anyway we had to be satisfied with the little money we got. It was better than nothing, we always said. We didn't--at first we gave up every hope to get anything out of it.

WESCHLER: Okay. As I said, we have you in Sankt Anton and Lion in Washington, D.C. How do you two get together?

FEUCHTWANGER: He came directly to Paris by ship, to France. And from Paris he came to Sankt Anton.

WESCHLER: Did he leave immediately when Hitler came to power? Did he cut his trip short, or was he leaving anyway?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no, it was finished anyway, because when he arrived in Washington, it was the end of his trip. Ja, ja.

WESCHLER: So what happened then?

FEUCHTWANGER: Then we met in Sankt Anton. He arrived in Sankt Anton, but I didn't know the day. It was early in the morning. He came on the night train, Paris-Constantinople,

I think it was. You know, there are so many novels about it.

WESCHLER: The Istanbul Express.

FEUCHTWANGER: The Orient Express. That was it. And this Express goes through Sankt Anton. So he came and with his luggage, all of a sudden, he was standing outside my room. I was living under the roof in the same house where Leni Riefenstahl lived. Then he said we have to find a room. And then he went, of course--he always lived in a Grand Hotel, he wouldn't do it otherwise--so we went directly from my little room into the Grand Hotel. [laughter] And then came Eva Boy [née Hommel].

That's what I wanted also to speak about Berlin. There was a young girl whom we met when she was almost a child in Munich. She became a dancer. Her mother was very great friend of [Walter] Hasenclever, of the writer Hasenclever who later was lying beside my husband in the concentration camp and then took sleeping pills. She was always--in Munich already we were friends, and then she came to Berlin to see us. Sometimes she was very despondent because nothing would happen to her dancing. Finally she married a Dutch man, who also was in Munich at first, a very rich man, [Anthony] van Hoboken. That is a great shipbuilder family from Holland. They married in our house; no, it was not so much--it was a betrothal dinner in our house. She was

always around when sometimes we came and went, and when we were in Amalfi, when we made this Italian trip, she came to Amalfi and told us about the reception of the novel Success. We didn't know even anything, she told us what happened about Success. My husband, when he finished a book, he didn't care anymore what happened. He was already thinking about Flavius Josephus; he wanted to write. When I furnished the house, and finished the house, I couldn't take care of Lion. Also I was never at home; I had to supervise the workmen. So I said the best would be for him to go away with Eva Boy and Kahn-Bieker, his research assistant. So they went to the south, to the Wörther See, that is; before it was Austrian, and then it became Jugoslavisch. They were there and I was glad that he couldn't hear all those workmen hammering and all the terrible things to undergo which happened in a new house. But he came back too early. He came back. He said he just wanted to be back. It was still all full of workmen, and then came the books. When the books came, the secretary said she is now so tired that she has to take a vacation; but the whole time when he was away, she had already vacation. So, as I told you, my friend, Maria Kuntz, she helped Lion put the books in the shelves. It was quite some work to do.

WESCHLER: Anyway, so this friend showed up at Sankt Anton.

FEUCHTWANGER: Eva Boy, and van Hoboken, her husband. She became also a writer. Later on, she became a patron of

Japanese art and also Etruskisch art; they did a lot of those things in Switzerland; they had a big house there. Her husband, whom we knew before she knew him, was living in Nymphenburg. That is a big castle, a whole big castle, royal castle. And he had one aile, one wing of the great Nymphenburg castle. During the revolution he was there. He was very rich, and the communists came to him, and the aristocrats came to him--everybody came to him because there was always something to eat in his house. He was a playboy then and had big festivals all the time, and the writer Oskar Maria Graf writes about in his book We Were Prisoners [Wir sind Gefangene]. He writes about all this time. And this man later became a very famous musicologist and is even more famous now. He wrote the first complete catalog about Haydn.

WESCHLER: What is his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: His name is [Anthony] van Hoboken, and he married that Eva Boy. And before they were married, we were in Italy, and then she came--what I told you--and brought the news about Success.

WESCHLER: And she came and saw you at Sankt Anton.

FEUCHTWANGER: She came with her husband. Then she was already married. She came with van Hoboken to Sankt Anton. And also Brecht.

WESCHLER: Had Brecht already decided that he would be in

Scandinavia primarily in exile, or was he still looking for a place to go?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he was--I think he went back to Germany. No, he didn't go back to Germany. I think he went to Austria then. And then he didn't go to Sweden right away. His friend Karin Michaelis, who was a great Danish writer, invited him and his wife and his children to stay in her residence; it was a big estate. But then he had to flee there too, because the Nazis invaded Denmark, and he had to flee like the Jews who had to flee then.

WESCHLER: At that time that he was in Sankt Anton, had he already decided that he would be going there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, yes--he couldn't stay a day in Germany, you know. But his secretary, Elizabeth Hauptmann, was there, and she saved everything, even the big chair which he had from me. Everything was saved for him. He had a house in Utting, on the Ammersee in Bavaria, and this was sold also. His father lived in Augsburg, and his brother [Walther] was there. They didn't have to flee. But he wanted to; he couldn't stay there. First of all, his wife was Jewish--Helene Weigel was Jewish--but also with his ideas on communism, he couldn't have stayed a day.

WESCHLER: You said his father was still in Augsburg. Did he stay there the whole war?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, of course, what should he do? He was a

German manufacturer of paper, a director of the paper manufacture.

WESCHLER: Was he abused at all?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, nobody knew [about his son] exactly. You know, in Augsburg, they were very well known--but all his friends were not Jewish in Augsburg, and nobody knew about his work, also they didn't know about his political interests. So his father was not bothered; neither was his brother, who was an engineer later. I was with his brother, skiing sometimes.

WESCHLER: Getting back to Lion, who was not as fortunate in getting his things out, his papers....

FEUCHTWANGER: No, nothing at all, nothing.

WESCHLER: Were there any attempts to get--I believe he had a manuscript still?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, the manuscript has been destroyed.

WESCHLER: Which manuscript was it?

FEUCHTWANGER: The second part of Flavius Josephus [Die Söhne], which was called The Jew of Rome, I think, in English. In every country they had other titles, in England other titles than in America, but I think it was The Jew of Rome. And he had to write it again.

WESCHLER: Was there any attempt to get things like that out of the house, among your friends?

FEUCHTWANGER: No. My friend tried, my friend Maria Kuntz.

She was in England during this time, and she came to see us in Switzerland. We went from Sankt Anton to Switzerland, because the owner of the hotel and my skiing friends also, they told my husband he couldn't stay there; it's too dangerous, because they killed some, they kidnapped people by coming over the border, also in Switzerland. They kidnapped, for instance, two great directors of the theater, of the Berlin theater; one was killed because he wanted to escape [Alf Rotter, along with his wife], and the other [Fritz Rotter] could escape, but he was wounded. That was in Switzerland. They just came over the border. So they said, "We have Nazis here around and you cannot stay here. They would denounce you, and if they wouldn't kidnap you, they would kill you." And nobody could.... Austria was not strong enough to do anything against Germany. Nobody could protect us. So that's why we went to Switzerland then, to Bern.

WESCHLER: And it was in Bern that your friend...

FEUCHTWANGER: ...my friend came to see us. No, we were in the Berner Oberland. The Berner Oberland is the part in the mountains above Bern. Bern is in the plain, the capital of Switzerland, and higher up it's called the Berner Oberland. And there we were in Wengen, and then my friend came from England and told my husband if she could do something to help him. Then my husband said, "Yes, if

you want to try"--no, my husband asked her directly. My husband said, "Do you think you could do something for me, save some money which is in different banks if I give you an authorization?" So then she tried. First she went to Munich to the Feuchtwanger Bank, which still existed, you know. It was not like it was--most people left, but many people stayed in Germany until 1938. The Feuchtwangers left earlier, but still they were there then. So she went to them and said if she can't get our deposits there because we had a lot of stocks there, in the bank. Then they said that they couldn't do that because they would be immediately sent to concentration camp and probably killed. They cannot give anything out; everything is impounded which belongs to people who have lost their citizenship--my husband lost his, one of the first along with Albert Einstein--and they would be all in danger. I understood that very well. She went also to Lutschi, who was still there, but he had to leave also very soon, with the help of my husband. My husband had to guarantee for them. You know, for everybody who went out. So then, nothing, she could do nothing in Munich. She tried in Berlin, in the banks, and there also nobody could do anything.

But Kahn-Bieker, who was still there, he thought nothing would happen to him because his father--he was half-Jewish--was decorated with a high decoration and died in the First World War, and they told him nothing would happen to him.

I found out that we had still something at a Berliner bank, I think, some 3,000 marks. So we wrote Kahn-Bieker that he goes to our lawyer [Goetz] (who, by the way, was the commandant of Hitler, a colonel of Hitler, during the First World War). He liked my husband very much. He helped him with his trials; you know, we had a trial with the landlord (it was a very interesting thing, the trial with the landlord where we lived in this little apartment). I told Kahn-Bieker to go to this lawyer, who was a Gentile, and maybe he could give him good advice. I told him, "Tell him that we owe you 3,000 marks" (which was the same as now \$3,000) "and maybe he can make something out of it." This lawyer knew everybody also because he knew Hitler, although he made always fun about Hitler to my husband. Anyway, Kahn-Bieker went to him and he really got the 3,000 marks from the Dresdner Bank. And then there was still something in Sweden, how we got that money; I don't remember.

But my friend, Maria Kuntz, she just couldn't do anything because she had not the connections like this lawyer had in Berlin, and what Kahn-Bieker did; Kahn-Bieker was a very resourceful man, you know, and could do many things. But my friend went through a very frightening episode, because when she was in Stuttgart to change trains (she wanted to come back where we were in Switzerland), somebody touched her on the shoulder, and she thought she will be arrested because she was

at the Feuchtwangers' bank. She said somebody followed her always. She didn't know exactly if it was true, but she had the feeling that somebody followed her. Her things were looked through, her luggage, but she didn't have anything from us. (Of course, we didn't give her anything.) So nothing happened to her, but it was very frightening, she said. Then she went always to England to write us from England. She couldn't write from Germany. She wanted to come and stay with us, but I dissuaded her. We had already the secretary. Then we had Kahn-Bieker--he came too--and we had really not so much money that we could have taken care of her, because she couldn't have taken money out of Germany. So I said, "You stay in your castle"--I call it always her castle in Trier--"and wait until all is over." And that's what she did. But she went many times to England to write us because she had friends in England.

WESCHLER: Did you have the feeling it all would be over fairly soon?

FEUCHTWANGER: My husband had that feeling. He was always optimistic. He said, "It cannot last." He cannot--and also there was the publisher of the Vossische Zeitung (that was the twice biggest newspaper of Germany; the Berliner Tageblatt and then that), Georg Bernhard. He was a famous publisher and writer, journalist, and he was also in Paris--we met him there--and he was full of optimism also. He said that the valuta is so bad in Germany, and they didn't have.... (Goering said, "We prefer

guns to butter," you know, all those things.) He said that the people wouldn't stand that; it will be a revolt against Hitler. He was full of optimism. And my husband also, he said that he didn't think it would last long. All the others were very pessimistic. But my husband wrote this open letter--maybe I told you about it.

WESCHLER: Not on tape. You haven't told it on the tape, so maybe you could tell it again.

FEUCHTWANGER: He has been asked by an English newspaper [probably the London Times]--right after Hitler came to power, they sent a telegram to Sanary to ask him to write an open letter to this newspaper about the Hitler movement. This letter has been translated into English. We didn't hear anything of what happened to this letter, because we lived there, and nobody sent us a newspaper of it, and my husband forgot entirely about it. But this letter made such a sensation that it was copied in the whole world, in all the big newspapers, English newspapers. And when we came to New York, in 1940 (this letter was written in '33), a book was on our table in the Hotel St. Moritz in New York. We opened the book and my husband looked in the table of contents and found his name. He didn't know what this book meant. On the cover was The World's Great Letters; that was the title of the book. But he didn't know why this book was lying there. (Simon and Schuster was the publisher.) Then he looked at the contents and found his

name, and he looked over and that was his letter. It had come also to America, the letter, and Simon and Schuster found this so amusing that he decided to make a whole book around this letter, [including various letters from] great men in emigration or in exile, beginning with the Bible and the Greeks and Ovid and all those people.

Then there was a letter of Thomas Mann which he wrote to Bonn [probably Rhenish Friedrich-Wilhelm Universität], because they took away his honorary doctorate. And there was this letter from my husband in which he writes.... First of all, he writes about his house; he said, "I always thought that you are only interested in the Germanic gods and religion, like Wotan, but you must be very versed also in the Bible, because in the Bible it says, 'Thou shalt dwell in houses you did not build,' and that's what you are doing with my house." And then he said, "And take good care of the wall-to-wall carpet. It's a very new method" (it was a kind of rubber) "and it has to be taken care of. Because I come back." That he wrote already in '33.

WESCHLER: I've also heard a story about what he said when they took away his citizenship.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, but that was not in this letter. He always spoke like I speak, with a Bavarian accent, so he said that Hitler could take away his citizenship but he couldn't take away his Bavarian accent. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Going back to Bern, you left Sankt Anton and went to Bern. For how long roughly were you in Bern?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, we were not long in Bern because I went skiing in the Berner Oberland, to Wengen. The next year I got even a prize skiing there, in a private race with the champion.... The world champion in those days was Graf, from Switzerland; he was a famous F.I.S. world champion, and he owned a ski school there. It was my first day when I went up on the Kleine-Scheidegg (that was below the Eiger Glacier). I didn't know anybody there, and I saw the people standing around. I found out that he was a kind of guide or teacher, and I asked him if I could join him. He said, "Of course, come with me." And they made a descent to Grindelwald on the other side of the mountain, and it was a terrible snow condition. It was my first day: for a year I was not skiing anymore. The snow was frozen by wind, and it was like roof shingles. Absolutely. Your teeth chattered when you went over it because it was so hard as the skis went over it. There were only some young English students there, a whole group which came together, and they hired him. I had nothing to do with this group, but he told me I could come with them. So those young people-- of course, they went fast: they wanted to show how good skiers they are. And they all fell down, because it was this terrible snow; it was not really for skiing. But I

learned with Hannes Schneider how to ski in bad snow. There are certain kinds of Stemmbogen--snow bows--and one should not go straight but rather make a kind of snake.

WESCHLER: Zig-zagging.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, zig-zag. I came down, and all of a sudden I was the first. I didn't know it, but the others were still there lying around and falling, and I was very slow, I didn't make a real race, I just tried not to fall. I didn't even know that it was a race. The man didn't tell me that it was a race. So when we came back to Scheidegg, he said, "Wait a little bit," and then he went into the hotel and came out with a box and with all kinds of prizes he had--mostly blue ribbons, a kind of a sign which had to be sewn on the jacket. Some of the boys got those signs because they were good skiers. And then he told me, "And you have to wait a little longer." So I said, "What could he do with me?" And then he brought out a golden sign and put it on my sleeve, and said, "You were the best." [laughter] I owed it only to Hannes Schneider, because the only reason was that when you fall you lose so much time until you get yourself up again, so I had made the best time, although I went much slower than the others. That was my first and last prize I got skiing.

WESCHLER: I see. Well, from Bern what happened?

FEUCHTWANGER: In Bern, my husband had his secretary coming

then, and they worked together already.

WESCHLER: What was he working on at that point?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was always Flavius Josephus. The first part was already published in Berlin, but there was a second part. And also he had an enormous correspondence, his change of address and all that, with all his publishers in the whole world, you know.

WESCHLER: How did he later feel about having lost the first manuscript of the second volume?

FEUCHTWANGER: He was very despondent about it, but then afterwards he said he was very glad because he made it much bigger. At first it should have been only two volumes, and then it became three volumes because he found out he had to say much more. So in a way he said for him it was fortunate that he had to write it again. But in the beginning it was a terrible loss, of course. Also he had no advance for the book. We had lost our money, all our money. The only thing we had was what we got from other countries, but it had to come in later. The first thing was that he got money for a movie--I told you about that--when he came to Sanary.

WESCHLER: Well, let's wait till we get to Sanary about that. So what did happen after Bern?

FEUCHTWANGER: After Bern, I was skiing in the high mountains, and my husband went to the Swiss lakes, to the Italian

Swiss, where it was warm already. Bruno Frank was staying there with his wife, and he visited with them. They also thought we should stay with them in this place so they had company. But there was a funny thing: when he arrived, Bruno Frank didn't come out from the hotel; Mrs. Frank expected him in the rear and brought him back over the rear stairs and so. They were very much afraid that it would endanger them, because he had also still some contracts with German publishers and so, and he expected some money.

WESCHLER: Was Bruno Frank not Jewish?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was Jewish; both were Jewish. I don't know if his wife was half-Jewish or not, because nobody knew exactly who her father was. He was an Hungarian and I'm not sure.

WESCHLER: What happened at that house?

FEUCHTWANGER: He didn't stay very long. It was Locarno or somewhere, you know, a Swiss lake.

Then he came back to Bern, and we left and went to Marseilles directly with the train. There we found this little hotel outside of the city which was famous for very good food, very little; it was a kind of villa. It was called La Réserve, and many of those little places had this hotel, La Réserve. Always very few people living there. It was only for people who were in the know about it. I found it by chance, because we just took a taxi to look for

a hotel. We told to the taxi, "We don't want a big, grand hotel; we want to have a quiet place where my husband can work." During that time, I would go along the Riviera to look for a house. And then we were there. It was on the border of the ocean, and I took the bus that went along the Riviera, along the French Riviera, from one place to the other. It was terrible. The morning I went to the bus, and I was all alone sometimes with the bus driver, and he wanted to impress me how good he drives. [Those roads] are full of curves, you know, very narrow, and he was just crazy--ach! I was myself not a very slow driver, but what he did--sometimes I just closed my eyes. [laughter] When another car came against his, he never stopped or slowed down. He just wanted to show up. It was terrible. [laughter] And I was sitting beside him because the whole bus was empty, mostly in the morning. Finally I found that the best place was Bandol. It looked quieter, not so very fashionable. There was a good hotel there, a grand hotel, but we didn't want to live in a grand hotel. I found that there was very near to the grand hotel, also on the rim of the sea, of the Mediterranean, a little place which was again called La Réserve. And there was nobody living there. It was before the season, right after skiing. And there were small rooms, and I had also a room for the secretary who came from Bern. There was a terrace, and this terrace was entirely at the

disposal of my husband. It was half-closed, and he could use it as his study. And right away then began this story with the film.

WESCHLER: Okay, I think we won't do that today, because we're at the end of the tape, but we'll start next session with the story of the film which became the novel Die Geschwister Oppermann.

TAPE NUMBER: XVII, SIDE ONE

AUGUST 8, 1975

WESCHLER: Well, before we return to Sanary, we have a few more stories from Berlin in the twenties--in fact, two, to be specific. One of them begins with the first time you ever flew in an airplane.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, first we went by train to Munich, and from there to Geneva, and from Geneva we took a plane. That was not only the first plane we took, but I knew nobody in our circles or anywhere else who already used to go by plane. It was so new to do it for pleasure.

WESCHLER: What year was this, roughly?

FEUCHTWANGER: It would be '26, I think. We went from Geneva to Marseilles, and the pilot let me have the stick on the plane. We were all by ourselves, nobody else dared to.... It was a very small plane, and he let me fly, very high up, and I always pressed the stick down so that the plane came higher up and was also faster. He always made motions that I should get a little easy on the plane. But we landed--I didn't land, of course--and everything ended happily.

WESCHLER: I'm glad to hear you were a better flyer of planes than driver of cars at that point.

FEUCHTWANGER: I couldn't drive any cars; I wasn't driving yet.

WESCHLER: Was that a commercial airline that you could rent

out, or how did that work?

FEUCHTWANGER: I have no idea. We just went to the hotel in Geneva and said we wanted to fly to Marseilles. You know, when you are in a good hotel, everything is done for you; so we got a ticket and we went to the airport and flew away--that was all. But I don't know what line it was. I don't think there existed any line. It was just probably a private enterprise. Anyway, it was very exciting, and we decided that I would learn how to fly. But later on there came so many other things between, so I never came to it.

And then from Marseilles we took a chauffeur and a car, because I couldn't drive yet, and we went along the coast of the Riviera to find a nice place, because we wanted to settle finally on the Riviera. We liked the climate and we liked the open air to stay always outside in the sun and to swim in the Mediterranean. I only remember one place which we found which was so beautiful, and that was a very little, unknown place which was called Les Mimosas. Mimosa: that's the same as here, the acacia. All the hills, everything was full of those yellow mimosas; it was just the time. The perfume through the air, and it was so beautiful--you could live lying under the mimosas, and it was a very cheap place. We thought that it would be nice to settle there, but we found out the water wasn't very good (which has been later on changed, of course). But the only thing--finally we

decided not to build there, not to settle there, because we thought that a German writer has to stay in Germany, in his cultural atmosphere, not in a foreign language mostly, and also stay with his circles and the culture, his friends, and not to--almost like in a monastery--to be so absent from everything which he was used to.

WESCHLER: And from his language, especially.

FEUCHTWANGER: Mostly the language, ja, ja. It would have been a voluntary exile.

WESCHLER: The irony, of course, is that within ten years, you would be....

FEUCHTWANGER: Later on, it came about like that. But the good thing was that we had so many emigrants, that we were not out of our language. For instance, in Sanary there were sixty families which were emigrants. Not just sixty persons but.... In summer there were sixty [families] there. I remember when we gave a tea in our garden, we had sixty people there, all emigrants.

WESCHLER: We'll talk about that in more detail when we get to Sanary, but you might talk about--you returned to Berlin and this was when you decided to build....

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. We returned to Berlin and then I looked for a house in Berlin. That was the turning point to stay in Berlin. My husband later on has been asked by a newspaper.... (I don't know if I have told you that already.)

For a New Year he has been asked by a [Hamburg] newspaper what his plans are and what his predictions are for the future, and he said, "I see ourselves already running." That means that he saw we were already emigrants. But still he built the house because he saw it but he didn't want to believe it.

WESCHLER: Well, along that line, the second story you were going to tell has something to do with that too.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, the other story was very depressing and very shocking. One night we have been wakened by the telephone, and it was a call from England, from Ashley Dukes, who was a famous playwright in England.

WESCHLER: What year was this, roughly?

FEUCHTWANGER: Also about '27 or so. It was just after my husband came back from England. He was bathing still in the celebration and in the people, and all the newspapers sent their correspondents to interview him, to write about how he lived in Berlin and so. And then came this call which was absolutely terrifying. Ashley Dukes said, "When we made the contract that I would write a play adapting your novel, you said you had all the rights. Also it is printed inside in the book that it is copyrighted."

WESCHLER: This is the novel Jud Süss?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was the novel Jud Süss.

WESCHLER: When had they arranged that he would do the play?

While Lion was in England?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, while he was in England. Lion was first a little reluctant, because he himself wrote once a play, Jud Süß. But then all the people said Dukes is such a great playwright and you should do it--why not?--and the novel is so popular, it would be sure that also this play would be popular. And then Ashley Dukes had the intention to go with the play to America, which was a great project. Then, all of a sudden, he heard that in America they are already playing an adaptation, an English adaptation of the novel Jud Süß of my husband; they are playing it already. My husband didn't know anything about it. My husband said, "Of course it's copyrighted. It's printed in the book, it's printed in the German book, and it's printed in the English book by Martin Secker." And he said, "Yes, but we asked the institute of copyright in Washington, and they told us it has not been copyrighted." And Ashley Dukes said, "I sue you for \$1,000,000" (or 1,000,000 marks, which would have been about the same value as now the dollars are). And then my husband asked his friend, a lawyer, and he said, "You have to sue your publisher [Drei Masken Verlag]. It is the publisher who made that. The publisher didn't pay the two dollars which had to be paid for copyrighting." But there was another thing which [made things] a little bit [complicated]: if only he hadn't printed [the copyright

notice on the title page].... Because it was during the war, and he couldn't have paid it to America, because Germany and America were at war, but he could have paid it after the war. And that's what he didn't. And if he hadn't printed it in the first place, then the whole thing would have come in the open and it would have been easily rectified. There is a law, of course, the copyright law, that you have to do it right away. But how could you do it during the war? You could call it an act of God or so.

WESCHLER: Let's see, it was the play that was copyrighted during the war, but the novel wasn't published until later.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was the play, but it's the same, you know, ja, ja.

WESCHLER: I see, okay. What happened?

FEUCHTWANGER: He didn't copyright the novel also, that's true. The plays, he couldn't do it; but the novel, he could have done it. And the publishing house I think was sold in the meantime. Anyway, my husband had to sue from Munich because the publishing house was in Munich. He had to go to Munich for the trial. The publisher from Munich had an expert coming from Berlin, which was another publisher, Mr. Ernst Rowohlt, as a witness and as an expert. During the trial this Mr. Rowohlt said, "I did the same thing. I printed in the books 'copyright,' in all the books, but I never asked the institute for copyright in New

York to do it, and also I didn't pay the two dollars" (which it was in those days). He said even, "I'm terrible sorry for Mr. Feuchtwanger, who is a good friend of mine. And I know I'm a swine, but I didn't do it." But this helped, of course, the publisher in Munich, because it was already the atmosphere of the Nazis, yes, that's why we left Munich. He said, "Maybe we could call it the law of the land: nobody did it. We didn't want to pay the Americans for the copyright, and nobody would have thought that it would be printed in another country, that it would have this success."

WESCHLER: How was the case decided?

FEUCHTWANGER: Then my husband had to go back to--no, it was, he lost. But my husband was not there when it was lost; he came back right away because he had to leave for America. But it was decided that his complaint was lost. His lawyer in Munich, who immediately appealed the decision, called me to ask if he should continue, because I think also the first appeal was also lost. He asked me if he should continue to a higher court. I had felt already when my husband was in America that there is not much to do after two, after the first appeal was also lost, so I told him out of my own free will or judgment not to continue, because I thought that would be only throwing more money out. It seemed to me that you just couldn't get justice.

WESCHLER: Because partly of the situation with regard to the Nazis and so forth?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, I think that influenced everything. Because when my husband was in Munich, he came back rather optimistic; he said that the judge was much on his side. But afterwards, when he left, it had changed.

WESCHLER: Did all this happen before or after he had written Success? I wonder whether his views of Bavarian justice in Success were influenced by this.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I think the trial must have been--because he was in America when the lawyer called me. Even the trial must have been later than I thought. When the lawyer called me, we were already in our new house, I remember. The secretary was just absent, absented herself, and my husband wasn't there. I couldn't find her, I couldn't reach her, and she knew more about the whole thing (she had all the letters and the correspondence), and I just didn't know anything about those things. But I had only a feeling, because I was also more pessimistic than my husband--he was always an optimist--so I said, "No, don't continue. I think it's useless."

WESCHLER: So that he came to have a dose of the medicine he had described in Success.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, that's true, absolutely; ja, you're right. But then happened something else: my husband was

so popular in England and his book was such a great success that it would have been.... The English are very much for fair play, and since everybody knew (it has been published, of course) that my husband was absolutely innocent about it (he was himself the one who was damaged because the play where he had a part of it would have been for him, he would have shared the royalties, and he lost as much as Ashley Dukes lost), so Ashley Dukes then didn't sue him for this 1,000,000, because he saw that it was just not possible for him to do that, for his reputation.

WESCHLER: You mentioned, by the way, that in addition to the English version of the play in the United States, there was also a Yiddish version that was being played.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, first was a Yiddish play. They didn't ever pay any royalties, but I heard it has been played for years in New York. I remember that Ernst Toller, who has seen it in New York, told us that for him it was very comical, because it was Yiddish and we all didn't know anything about Yiddish--the Western Germans didn't know much about Yiddish. He said that one of the actors who played Jud Süß played the other day the Duke, and things like that. Also it sounded very much, very funny, it's so tragic.... Later on, you know, Yiddish became much more understood and is now recognized as a real language. But in those days they found it, of course, half-German and half-Latin and

half-Russian and I don't know what all. This Yiddish is...

WESCHLER: ...a real mongrel language.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, but now it's considered as a real poetical language, and mostly because the great poets made it a great language, [Chaim Nachman] Bialik and those people, and also the Habimah. It became a language, I think, by those people who used it, who wrote about it.

WESCHLER: But during the twenties, for instance, it was not respected at all by German Jews?

FEUCHTWANGER: Not only not respected, the Jews in Germany were ashamed of it. Nobody wanted to admit--we all didn't know anything, but if anybody would have understood it, he wouldn't have wanted to admit that he understood it. But this has changed absolutely. The funny thing is that in Israel, it's not very popular, because they want their modern Hebrew. There is a joke also in Israel that a little boy had been asked, "What do you want to be when you are grown up?" And he said, "I want to sit in a rocking chair and speak Yiddish." Because his grandfather came from Russia and was always old, sitting, so the boy found Yiddish so wonderful and amusing. [laughter]

WESCHLER: I think we're ready to go to where we left off last time, which was with the genesis of the Oppermanns novel. Now we can start this way: you weren't initially

in Sanary, you were in a neighboring town. What was its name?

FEUCHTWANGER: We were in Bandol; that is a neighbor town a little bigger even than Sanary and a little more, let's say, fashionable. There was a grand hotel, although a very simple grand hotel. But Sanary was a fishing village, more or less, and also very picturesque, with old buildings (they were still from the rococo time or the baroque time), a beautiful little port with beautiful little fish barques and so, and it was very picturesque. Usually there were many painters there from all countries; from Scandinavia and from France and from all countries came painters there. And [Aldous] Huxley lived already there, and René Schickele, who was a double language writer because he was from Alsace-Lorraine.

WESCHLER: Before we go there, let's go back to Bandol. You were not in the grand hotel yourself?

FEUCHTWANGER: I found this little Réserve Hotel, which was the same as in Marseilles, and it was a very little building on a little peninsula. Very little. There was a terrace which hung over the water, a little terrace--everything was very little. It was just right for when other people--people mostly went during the season to eat there because they had very good fish. So it was nobody living beside us, and this little terrace hanging over the water

was my husband's study. He wanted to write, but he had no real plans. He wanted to finish his Josephus.

And then, all of a sudden there came a messenger with a message from Ramsay MacDonald, who was the prime minister of England. He was the one who visited my husband in his hotel when he had the flu. My husband should have gone to a big banquet of the unions, but he couldn't go because he had the flu, so the next day Ramsay MacDonald came to see him. He was very much smitten by my husband's novel, and he thought he would be the best man to write a film against the Nazis. My husband told this messenger--he was an agent, I don't remember, for film production--that he never wrote for the movies and he wouldn't know how to do it, that he was very reluctant. But this man said, "You don't have to worry about that. We send you the best movie writer we have in England." And his name was [Sidney] Gilliat, I remember that.

WESCHLER: Was this a secret project, or was it fairly well known the British government was behind it?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was so new, nobody knew about it. They had to ask first my husband.

WESCHLER: Right. I'm just wondering whether--was it an official governmental act, or was it something that MacDonald did on his own?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, it was from MacDonald as the prime minister

of England. But before my husband said anything, they couldn't [announce] it. So they wanted to find out first. Then this man said, "You don't have to worry. We send you the best scriptwriter. It is only that you have to write the story, like you write a short story or a novella or a small novel, and he makes the movie out of it. But of course he has to come and speak with you, because you have to find out what is feasible in a film, in a movie." So then came Mr. Gilliat very soon, right afterwards--they must have prepared it already beforehand.

It was very good to work with him, my husband said. He was a younger man; he's now very famous, still. And they wrote together a film story. This was the Oppermanns, And it should have been made immediately into a film. It was very pressing, and my husband interrupted his work on Josephus, which he didn't like at first, but he thought that is so urgent to do something against the Nazis that it was his duty, when he has the opportunity, to do it immediately. He did it reluctantly because he was always a slow writer, and he couldn't write so suddenly and on command almost. That was the only thing which worried him. But then Mr. Gilliat went back with the script and we didn't hear anything more about it.

WESCHLER: Let me ask you some questions about the actual writing. First of all, you might describe Mr. Gilliat.

FEUCHTWANGER: I can't describe much of him because I never saw him; he was always working with my husband, from mornings to night, and we were only together during the meals. He was a very pleasant person. We spoke about English literature, and he spoke about Huxley who lived there also, but that was all.

WESCHLER: I'm trying basically to get a sense of who was responsible for what in the project. Was the story entirely Lion's, or did they develop it together?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, entirely Lion's. Nobody knew anything--even Lion himself didn't know anything before. Just in the meantime, between the messenger and Mr. Gilliat, he had to think about an idea. And he really accepted it only because he found he has not the right to refuse that, to do something which would probably come into the whole world.

WESCHLER: Did the idea occur to him fairly easily once he got going on it, or was it difficult?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was always difficult for him, because, as I've told you, he was a slow writer. Usually he had the feeling the first concept is very important, but the first writing down, the rough, is usually not good. You have to do it again and again. And he had no time for that here. It was his method, you know. He had a concept--he wouldn't have done it without a real concept--but he knew that he had to try out the real form, or the real idea of the whole

thing. He had the idea, but how to write it down, how to make it...

WESCHLER: ...tangible.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. But then Mr. Gilliat went home with his script, with his movie script, and we didn't hear anything. Nothing. My husband said maybe that's the way the movies are made. They had paid for it, for my husband's work; and that was very important because we had many people to help and we had lost everything. So even the pay was very important.

WESCHLER: Out of curiosity, how much was he paid? Do you remember?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, we never spoke about money in our house. [laughter] I didn't hear. Then my husband had to go to England for another purpose, and Lord Melchett gave again a dinner for him. He invited all the people who were just then in London who knew my husband or wanted to meet him. And he also invited Ramsay MacDonald. But when he heard that Lion comes, he didn't come. Then somebody told my husband that MacDonald decided to swallow Hitler, and that was the reason why the movie has not been made.

WESCHLER: So the movie was never made.

FEUCHTWANGER: Never made. That's the reason. He found that he has to decide--he decided; the English government had decided--to swallow Hitler. Some members of the government

even left the government. Somebody, I don't remember who it was, left the government afterward; it was a lord [Duff Cooper].

WESCHLER: My God. Was there pressure, do you think, from Hitler, that the movie not be made?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, fear. It was only fear. No pressure. Hitler didn't know anything about it. It was only fear. They were fearful to be in bad relations with Germany. But the other countries did this, too, if you know the history. They allowed them to take the left bank of the Rhine. They allowed them to build submarines. That was all the same thing.

WESCHLER: It was the beginning of the decade of appeasement.

FEUCHTWANGER: That was only the first thing. But they used this expression, "MacDonald decided to swallow Hitler." He didn't like it, but he swallowed it.

WESCHLER: Well, at that point Lion still had his own copy of the novel. Did he decide to publish it immediately?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, he had no copy of the novel, nothing at all. How can you in two weeks write a novel?

WESCHLER: I see. So how did the novel come out?

FEUCHTWANGER: Because he thought after he had made this effort to do something against Hitler, he thought it shouldn't be left. He found it necessary that he writes now at least

a novel.

WESCHLER: Oh, I see, it came then.

FEUCHTWANGER: There was no novel; there was only a script. Gilliat was only there for two weeks. After Lion had decided to do something, he found out he could do something, because his publisher was interested in this novel--he wrote to Huebsch and said he wants not to finish Josephus, the second part, but to write this novel which was an interruption of his work. That's why he did it very reluctantly, because he was so much imbued in the other plans. But he said it's absolutely necessary that he does something.

So he wrote this novel, and it had lots of complications also. After the novel was written, he sent the German manuscript to Holland, where the publisher Querido printed the German writers who had to flee, in German. He printed them in Dutch and in German. And so--it is the use that when a work is accepted by a publisher and it goes into print, [that it is first announced] in the special periodicals of publishers.

WESCHLER: In the trade magazines.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. So the Germans heard about it and also heard about the contents. It was already in print, you know, but it was not yet given out to the booksellers. And they heard about the title. It was announced that

Feuchtwanger, the Jew Feuchtwanger, this hateful person or something like that, wrote a novel against Hitler's Germany, with a title The Oppermanns. My husband had just wanted, took any name; he had wanted something which ends rather masculine, you know, not like "Oppermanner" or something like that; "Oppermann" is a decisive ending. So came a man in Germany who was a Nazi, a high Nazi official, with the name of Oppermann. My husband had never heard of him. He didn't even hear about the name; he just invented the name. But Oppermann said, "If Feuchtwanger publishes this novel" (the Oppermanns are Jews in this novel) "then his brothers who are still in Germany will be sent into concentration camp."

WESCHLER: Feuchtwanger's brothers?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. One was in Munich (he had the factory still), and the other was also in Munich, I think. Ja, ja. The other was the publisher of philosophical works, (Duncker and Humblot--that was the biggest publishing house). And they were sent into the concentration camp.

WESCHLER: They were in fact sent into the camp?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, they were, ja, ja. So my husband was of course frightened and asked the publisher Querido to cancel the whole novel. Then Querido reprinted the whole novel again, with another title, with the title Die [Geschwister] Oppenheim. And then it could be published. So this book

has been published the first time under the title Die Oppenheimer, and the two brothers have been freed, for the moment, at least. My husband had to get them out, both of them. With all the money he earned with the novel Die Oppenheimer, he had to get them out, and even more, whatever he could earn, because he had to pay for the affidavits, you know.

WESCHLER: He got them out fairly quickly.

FEUCHTWANGER: He got both out, but with all the money we had.

WESCHLER: And where did they come to?

FEUCHTWANGER: One, Lutschi, Ludwig--that was the second one--went to England, where he lived with his wife and a son, his second wife and their son. His son--we are still corresponding--Edgar, is now a professor of philosophy or so and writes books about earlier German history, very important books which are, of course, more or less of interest only for historians. But they are, it seems to me, very good; he sends me always these books. This brother was later used in the Nuremburg trials as an interpreter. And he--I don't know why it was difficult to get him there. He has been made an American captain and in a uniform.

WESCHLER: Which brother was this?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ludwig, called Lutschi. "Lutschi" is just a children's name, because "Luigi" in Italian would be

spelled with a g. And he was then an interpreter during the Nuremberg trials, because he was also a lawyer, a jurist. And the other, the younger one who owned the factory....

WESCHLER: What was his name?

FEUCHTWANGER: Fritz. He had to flee with his wife and two daughters. He had to flee very fast, and he couldn't come to America because there was a quota. They just didn't let him in, and he had to go to Cuba. He was for a while in Cuba, until the quota was right for him. Then he went to America, was in New York then.

WESCHLER: What about Lion's other siblings?

FEUCHTWANGER: The others? One had also left earlier; that was the youngest, the hero [Bertold]. He said he has seen the Nazi--they told him first that he has nothing to fear because he had this high decoration, you know, the Iron Cross First Class which only usually had high military people and not ordinary soldiers, especially not Jews (they never had a First Class). But he left. He also visited us in Sanary. We had always the feeling of him that he was a little bit like a playboy with a little money. But he married a very nice person [Trude] who then had a salon or fashion salon, and she turned him around, absolutely around: he became a very useful person, helped her in her business, kept the books and so. She was with her family

at first. And they went together to South America. I had a good impression of him. He became very serious, and he said that Lion's books had made such a great impression on him, mostly Josephus. It helped a lot to change him.

And then the others were all sisters--no, one, Martin, was in Halle (that is the middle Germany). He was a publisher and had a newspaper; he published a newspaper and also other people's books or correspondence or so. And he fled to Czechoslovakia and made himself again a career, with one of the sisters. Her name was--I always don't know her name, already before, I forgot it. They went together to Czechoslovakia--he with his wife and son--and then he fell in love with another woman and divorced his wife, and his son stayed with his wife. Bella was the name of the sister, and the sister was then left--they left, also the wife and the son left for Switzerland, and Bella stayed there and was sent to Theresienstadt and died there also.

WESCHLER: What happened to Martin?

FEUCHTWANGER: Martin went to Israel, and he was in Israel also publisher.

WESCHLER: What happened to the other sisters?

FEUCHTWANGER: And the other two sisters were already in Israel before; they were very early Zionists. The oldest sister and her family went to New York later.

WESCHLER: I see. Okay. Well, do you have anything more to tell about Bandol, before we go to Sanary?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes. We were not long there when we got visitors: it was Thomas Mann and another writer, Wilhelm Herzog. They lived in the grand hotel and heard about-- "There's another writer here in the neighborhood with the name of Feuchtwanger," they told him at the hotel, and so he came right away to see us. That was the first time that they got also the taste of the whole environment--and they also rented later a house in Sanary.

WESCHLER: What was it that attracted the whole German colony to the French Riviera?

FEUCHTWANGER: I think it was the climate; it's the climate mostly. Also in winter, it's very cheap there. In summer, when the season is, it's more expensive; but in winter, it's usually very cheap to live, mostly in those little villages where there was no grand hotel (if there was a grand hotel, it was already more expensive). But also this was a very small grand hotel. [laughter]

Then came Arnold Zweig with his son [Michael], who left then for America and went here into the army. This oldest son wanted to be a pilot, and they rejected him on account of his eyes. Then he went to Canada, where he was accepted, but he had lenses. I don't know, maybe they didn't know it. It was very difficult. He was a very good flier,

and later he was also a teacher for pilots in the army. He was in the army then, also in the American army in Germany, because then during the war that was not so difficult anymore. But he said it was very difficult in those days, because he had always to take out his lenses from time to time. Now it's not anymore so painful. And it was not very good when you fly in the skies, and you have to take out your lenses, and all of a sudden you don't see anything. [laughter]

WESCHLER: Well, getting back to this question generally about the German colony on the French Riviera, how did these little French fisherman villages feel about this influx?

FEUCHTWANGER: They were used about to the crazy English people. All these foreigners were considered crazy; the English people were considered crazy in the whole world in those days, because they were very parsimonious--they didn't give much tips--and were also very simple people sometimes. Of course, the rich ones went to the grand hotels; everywhere you could see English people. The climate. The people who traveled most were the English, the Scandinavians, and the Czechoslovakians. Mostly, for instance, in Yugoslavia there were all Czechoslovakians, because it was so cheap there. And also it was said that where the Czechoslovakians go, immediately the whole thing

down, because they don't tip at all and nobody would-- they invade everything, they were very parsimonious, and they cooked for themselves or so, and there was not a single future for a little village to become a fashionable spa. But I liked them very much because in my inner core, I'm a little parsimonious myself. [laughter] Then the English went because they have this bad climate, the fog and everything. The Scandinavians have even a worse climate-- it's dark the whole winter--so in Italy everywhere you could find Scandinavians. But they were very unobtrusive and very nice people. Although they were tall and blond and didn't look--you could see it.... But they were so well adapted immediately. The best adapted foreigners I found always were the Scandinavians. And then French you never saw anywhere because they didn't go out of the country: they didn't want to learn any other language, and also they had such a beautiful country, they didn't need it. Everything is in France. In Germany they said, "You live like gods in France." That was a proverb. (In Austria also they say so.) Because they had the North Sea, they have the Mediterranean, they had beautiful lakes, and they had beautiful, the highest mountains to go skiing, they had the beautiful rivers, and they had--everything is in France. You had part of the lake of Geneva, and Evian[-les-Bains] is a French spa, and those beautiful castles along those rivers, those old castles

from the medieval time on, and the rivers were very slow, so you could fish everywhere. You had Paris, which is unique in the world--why should a Frenchman travel? [laughter]

WESCHLER: So here we are with this community of what amounts to exiles in paradise.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, that's true. Also in the beginning, we didn't feel any homesickness, because it was so beautiful there, you know. We knew that now it's already cold in Germany or raining, and we could still swim in the Mediterranean. We always liked the Riviera very much.

WESCHLER: Getting back to this question of how the French reacted to you, and you to them, was there much intercourse between the two communities?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, we liked the French. You know, the people on the Riviera they are mostly--how do you call that?--Provincial. But not the word "provincial"; it is a part of the country known as Provence, ja. But in English it is Provincial.

WESCHLER: Provençois, in French.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. But we speak English, so we have--I think it's called Provincial.

WESCHLER: Possibly, okay.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, and those people are half-Italian, in a way; they are very romanesque, romanish, very outgoing. The most funny thing is that they all voted Communist always.

They had not the slightest idea what communism was, but they were against Paris and against those people in the north, which they found much more sophisticated. They were simple and gay and optimistic, and so they voted not for communism, but against the government. It was very funny. It was most remarkable how they always voted communism. And you know, the whole country is so easy to live there. There are grapes for wine, there are-- everything; there were fishes of the Mediterranean. It was an easy life there in the little villages. More to the east, towards Cannes and Nice, that was something else. But in the western part, it was very simple, and the people were very--that part was also the country of Van Gogh. And it's picturesque. All the men had those Basque caps, berets Basques, so they didn't look different. The only thing was that the Germans, we introduced pants there. It was not much known, the pants--they came from Italy originally, women's pants. They were called pyjama in those days, and only the English and the German had those pants; the Americans and the French didn't have them. Finally they adopted it, but in the beginning you could know that the girls were either English or German.

WESCHLER: Why was it, do you think, that such a large community developed in Sanary specifically?

FEUCHTWANGER: Because we were there. The others came, too,

because they heard Feuchtwanger is out there. Then came Thomas Mann and all the others. From the Germans originally, there was only René Schickele there, and he had also some friends, of course; so it was just--but we were the nucleus of it.

WESCHLER: Well, having talked about that, let's talk a little bit about two people you've mentioned just now, Schickele and Huxley. You might start with Schickele and tell us a little bit about him, what he was like.

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, that was so funny. Schickele had a big car--maybe it was a secondhand car, I don't know, but it was a big car--and also with his Basque cap he was sitting. There came a very rich banker, I think, from Frankfurt, to see him, or he was a friend of his. He must have had a lot of money outside of Germany; he had other business in France. Anyway, Schickele came with a big--no, it was not a secondhand, it was the car of this man, a big open limousine. So there was sitting always this man, and we saw him always driving by; he had his hand above, because it was an open convertible. And we always said, "Those two bankers." We didn't know anything--we didn't even know that one was a banker--but they were sitting in this car, so we had this feeling they were bankers. But then finally came an invitation by Mr. Schickele to come for tea, and there we saw the bankers there. [laughter] We became very good

friends, and he was not at all a banker or so. He was a very simple man, and both he and his wife were Gentile. They were great friends of the Jews, and also very upset about the whole thing in Germany. And then there was another friend who was also Gentile: that was [Julius] Meier-Graefe. He was one of the great art historians of the time. He wrote a novel with the title Vincent; it was about Vincent Van Gogh [Vincent Van Gogh: A Biographical Study]. He had a Jewish wife, but he was a wonderful-looking Gentile man. And then Brecht came to see us. But Meier-Graefe also was a long time there in another little town, Saint-Cyr[-sur-Mer], which was even more primitive than ours. I remember that when they invited us once for dinner with Schickele, and Brecht I think came with us, they had prepared very good cutlets, and when we came to the table, then the cat has eaten the whole thing; the neighbor's cat came into the kitchen and ate the whole meal. But he had so much humor, and we all laughed about it. We said, "I'm sure there is something else to eat." And then she got also--it was always difficult to get good meat there, because it was a little place, but she got something still in the last moment. But it was very funny when he came out--he had the great humor, you know, this Meier-Graefe. He said, "I'm sorry I can't offer you dinner because the cat ate everything." He went every year

to Germany because he had money there, he and his wife; they couldn't get the money out, but they could buy things, So they bought a Hanomag. That was the littlest car I ever have seen, much littler than you ever can have here. It was called Hanomag. This Meier-Graefe was a very tall man, and the Hanomag wasn't a very solid car. They came from the Rhine over the mountains to the south of France. And on the road, all of a sudden, the Hanomag broke apart, and with his long legs Meier-Graefe stood on the street. You know, his feet came down and he was standing in the middle of the wreck, standing. Nothing happened, but it must have been very comical. [laughter]

TAPE NUMBER: XVII, SIDE TWO

AUGUST 8, 1975

WESCHLER: We're in Sanary, and we're discussing some of the denizens of that community. One of them certainly who will be very interesting to talk about, I would think, would be Aldous Huxley.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, Aldous Huxley was very much against every foreigner. He was a great friend of [D.H.] Lawrence, the English writer Lawrence, who died also there [on the French Riviera (in 1930)]. But he was very much against Germany, already before the Nazis. He didn't like German literature. He knew better German than he ever admitted, because he was a very erudite man. But he was very much, also like Heinrich Mann, for French literature. He especially was against German literature. We didn't know much about him; he was not very famous then. He became more famous when he wrote this Brave New World. But before he wasn't so famous yet: only in England, but not outside of England. So he was a little bitter, I heard. But that was not how we met him. When we were still in La Réserve, there came a man, a very tall strong man, who introduced himself as Mr. [William B.] Seabrook. He was an American writer, very famous in those days; he wrote mostly books about his travels. One made a great sensation in America because he wrote about

cannibalism, in which he took part in Africa or so [Jungle Ways]. He had to, I think, because if he hadn't then he would have been killed also.

WESCHLER: It was either eat or be eaten.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, something like that. Anyway, I don't know anything much about the book. I read it, but it was not so sensational for me, because in literature you can read all kinds of things. There is incest and whatever you know; there is an English playwright, a classic, where the father loved his daughter, and the same was with the Borgia pope [Alexander VI], who had an affair with his own daughter, Lucrezia. So I was not so easily shocked like the Americans.

WESCHLER: You were pretty jaded already.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja, but the Americans were so shocked. And that made his fame. He came to the Réserve and said, "I know that you are here. I know, of course, your name--in America, everybody reads your books--and I want to introduce myself. I want to invite you to a big party in your honor." We said, "Where do you live?" He said, "This is not my house. I live in the hotel. The party's at Huxley's." So we went there, with great pomp and expectation [laughter]. I made myself as pretty as I could, and we brought also the secretary with us; because she lived with us, we couldn't leave her alone. And there,

under a beautiful cherry tree, sitting in his garden was Aldous Huxley and his wife [Maria Nys], looking very young, like a boy and a girl. All the people who were already there we met, many for the first time, even some who were German. I have also photos of this, some photos, which Mr. Huxley made, so he is himself not in the picture. But I am very much in front, because he wanted me to lean on the door, so I'm much too much in front of everything. Mr. Seabrook had only a swimming trunk and hair. [laughter] He was clad in his own hair.

WESCHLER: What was Huxley's house like?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was not yet his house--it was a rented house--but later on he built another house. But it was very Provençale, you know, like in the Provence, the style of the Provence. Those houses were not obvious; they were in the landscape, like the other farmers lived and so. It was very beautiful, for my taste, but rather primitive. Later on he built a more comfortable house, and they had beautiful furniture there which her brother.... She was Belgian, and her brother [Nicolas] was a glass painter, and he built glass tables. It was absolutely new; later on it came also here, it has been imitated here. Glass paintings on tables: underneath the glass there was the painting. They were rather greenish, blackish, very beautiful, and with great taste. The whole furniture was mostly with

glass and so.

WESCHLER: Did you become better friends with Huxley gradually?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, we were never very great friends. We saw each other, we invited each other, and also later here, but we also felt always some coolness from him, from his side. And then I heard also that in his diaries, he writes against the German writers, before he met us, how he's looking to this invasion of these German writers--and he spoke also about Feuchtwanger--that they all come here, and how will it be here then when they are all here? You know, he was very reluctant. And he had also great French scientists in his house, some Count of Neuilly. But he tried to be nice.

There was another thing. Later on, when I looked for a house for a long time, [I had] the help of Sybille von Schönebeck. She was the daughter of a German general and lived also there and was a friend of the Huxleys. The Huxleys told me, "Sybille will help you find a house. She knows everything here in the neighborhood." She was a beautiful blond girl with blue eyes, rather a little fat, but very intellectual, and a great fan of Huxley. She was always, you had the feeling, always on her knees before him. We went around in a little Ford which had no doors, and through thick and thin and ruts--the roads had only ruts or so--but finally we found a house which was very much to my taste. It

was really on a kind of peninsula. And the whole peninsula was--there was no real street there, just those dirt roads. And on the most outward tip, there was a little primitive house. Inside there was no furniture. It was the Provincial style: one big terrace the length of the house, and two stories. But downstairs there were only small rooms and no kitchen. There was only a very small room with an open fireplace where you had to cook. You could only cook with coals or with wood in the open. It was very good to cook there--but what a work! And there was no garden; it was only the wild wilderness, with brush all around. And then you had to go down a very steep little walk, and you had a private beach. The whole thing was a kind of bay, you know. On the other side went the street up the hill with a beautiful line. It was so beautiful, the line. Like--somebody who came here said, "It's a little bit like your house in Sanary." Because you see Sunset [Boulevard] going up here like that. But of course there it was all wild with native trees, and no plaster or concrete or something, you know.

WESCHLER: How far were you from other houses?

FEUCHTWANGER: We had to walk thirty minutes to go to the village. We could go by car, but it was only ruts, you know.

WESCHLER: On which side of the village were you?

FEUCHTWANGER: On the west side of the village. But this house

was just the ideal thing. After we had this comfortable house in Germany, you wouldn't believe that we loved it so much. But we forgot everything about our beautiful house in Germany, about the rugs which we lost and all the silver and whatever we lost, because the landscape was so beautiful. Behind there was nothing but brush, and in the background mountains, you could go for miles and miles without meeting anybody. Then I found out a gardener in the neighborhood; he had only a little cabin, a little hut, and big gardens with artichokes and those things. You could get everything there; he allowed you to. He said, "You pay me someday something." I could go there and pick up the artichokes and the beans and everything without even seeing him. He never wanted anything. He said, "Ah, you are neighbors, you take what you want." And I found even a maid there for some hours. I needed a maid, because there were lots of people coming all the time, not only for tea.

The first one was again Thomas Mann. Golo came with him. And there were people who lived with us. For instance, Kahn-Bieker--I told you about him: he also escaped from Germany, although they told him at first he can stay because his father was decorated and died in the war. He came with his Hollandisch girl, and they lived in a room beside the garage. We had no furniture--I found some mattresses somewhere hidden--and they slept on the mattresses. I bought some

linen, and they just lived there. They didn't even make their beds--they went right away in the morning swimming--and I had always to make the beds for everybody. And the secretary was with us. For five people I had to make beds and cook; and in the afternoon always came people for tea, and I had to arrange, I had to get the things to eat--it was just....

I had a little car, a Renault, which was I don't know how old. It was one of the first cars ever built, I think, and it was in terrible shape. It sounded like a sewing machine, but it worked. It was great, and also it went over all the bad roads, even in bad weather or whatever it was. You had to hold always the gears, because if not the gears jumped out sometimes; you know, you had to hold the gear.

WESCHLER: It was not a Buick.

FEUCHTWANGER: It was not a Buick, but I didn't miss the Buick, you know; it was so funny. It was so beautiful you can't imagine.

WESCHLER: You've mentioned Thomas Mann now several times. It sounds as though you were becoming better friends with him during this period.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, we were very good friends there, and we saw each other very often. He came always with one of his daughters or sons or so. They were not always there, the children--they came and went--but he and his wife would visit.

But his wife couldn't walk so far. I think she was not in this house; she came then later to the other house.

WESCHLER: What was his general mood during those years?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, he said, "Where I am is Germany." So, when all those German-speaking people--also in their houses were big parties always--they weren't dinner parties; it was tea. We had always high tea in the afternoon with lots of hors d'oeuvres or so, sandwiches and so.

WESCHLER: Appetizers.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, ja. But that was mostly in the afternoon. But also in the evening there were.... But it was outside, in the open; we had to sit on the ground. Also the Huxleys, they liked that so much. When you saw them going, he and his wife, you thought they were two scouts--boy scouts or girl scouts--they looked so young. He had always his arm around her shoulder, and they were very much for those picnics around. They went somewhere on the ocean. They didn't live on the ocean--we were on the ocean--but they often went on a beach where we lived, on the other side of our house, which was a public beach. A little beach also. And I saw them. Some of his friends swam in the nude there, we could see from above. On Sunday came people from the village with their cars and looked down and saw those nutty foreigners swimming in the nude, mostly the English (the Germans didn't dare that). [laughter]

WESCHLER: They were so cheap they wouldn't even have bathing suits.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, no. [laughter] No, those people were not the cheap people. They were the people around Huxley. One was a lawyer, a famous lawyer, and there was a member of Parliament, Mrs. Wilkinson, a lady who came also to see the Huxleys--so there was also an English colony in a way. But those were not considered the cheap people. Only the nutty people. I remember once I saw two policemen with their bicycles, standing behind trees--they hid the bicycles somewhere--and looking down. They should have arrested them, you know, but they wouldn't have thought of that; they just looked down to see them. [laughter]

WESCHLER: How about Brecht? You've said that he came to visit you occasionally.

FEUCHTWANGER: He came to see us, ja, ja. My husband was working very hard then, and so I took him to excursions around the very beautiful cities there, little towns, and also to Toulon and up the mountains beside that. From the medieval times little villages which you would think--they looked from below as if they were abandoned. Very interesting with little, white walls around. Nobody knew about it. Only the Huxleys told us about it, because they always went going and discovering things. So they found this little village, and they only told us about it. So

all the visitors who came--Brecht and Friedrich Wolf and all those people then, and [Kurt] Hirschfeld (who was later on director at the big theater in Zurich, in Switzerland, who played first in German Brecht's plays)--they came all to see us, and I brought them around with my car. I had then an English car, in which you had to sit on the wrong side, but it was a very good car, a Talbot, very good, a big car, also a convertible. So I always had the whole car full of people.

But first I had this little--"but that is another story," as Kipling said. First I had this little Renault. I have to finish with that because that's not so comical anymore afterwards. Once I came with Brecht and Zweig, who was also there at this time. They lived in a little hotel outside, on the other side of Sanary, on the east side. I picked them up with my car to come to us for dinner....*

I always--I had no gas or so; it was always on the open fire that I had to make the dinner in the kitchen. We finally got from the landlord who was a lawyer in Toulon, and very tight--I told him, "I cannot take the house with, when I have no furniture at all" (we didn't have anything). So he brought some old chairs from his house. They were very beautiful chairs, because they were antiques--they didn't know that. And then, we lived--we all had mattresses, we had no beds. And then what we needed most was that my husband

*This story continues on page 904.

had to have a table where he writes and where the secretary would write with a typewriter. So the carpenter in the village made a big--I told him to make a very big, long board, with two sawhorses on both sides, a big table. It was very beautiful wood: hard wood and a little reddish, but raw, you know, and it was just polished a little bit. This carpenter was a real miracle man, what he could do with nothing. He never asked for pay; I had always so difficulty to pay him. He just had--it made him so much joy to work for us. So we had some primitive furniture, some broken-down furniture which I repaired and glued together with a little gingham, a Provençal material which looked like checkered, you know (the farmers had that). So I made that. I made a floor lamp. So it was very nice. It was primitive; it looked like a camp. [laughter] And all the famous people came from everywhere, from the whole world, to see us there in this house.

WESCHLER: I'm wondering if you could perhaps in some way reproduce for us what some of the conversations were like about Hitler during that period. What did you, Brecht, Mann, Zweig, feel...?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, that was not necessary to talk about. Everybody knew what there was about Hitler. We didn't even mention him.

WESCHLER: Didn't you talk about him, about what would happen?

What did you think as you were staying in exile...?

FEUCHTWANGER: But we didn't think, didn't know--we didn't know anything what happened in Germany except that they prosecuted the Jews. That was all.

WESCHLER: What was your sense of what would happen in the future at that point?

FEUCHTWANGER: Mostly we were very pessimistic, except my husband. Very pessimistic.

WESCHLER: How did that come out? What did some people say, for instance?

FEUCHTWANGER: Oh, they didn't want to speak about it. They just said Germany is lost. They were hoping that there would be war against Hitler, that the other countries--they spoke much more about other countries than about Germany. They said the other countries are so cowardly, [letting him] do everything what he wanted and giving in all the time.

But he was not mentioned because everybody knew about him, what this nightmare was. Most of the people were--about the world politics they spoke, that he can do without being punished. Everything was admitted, accepted, what he did. We were all upset about the other countries, that they were not upset about Germany, because we knew that it was just a nightmare. We did not speak very much about him. We only spoke about how we hope only that these people can come out. We didn't even know what happened with the concentration

camps in those days. It was only later: after '38 it became, but the worst was after '40 when the war began. In those days it was just that we knew the Jews have been thrown out and their businesses have been dynamited or something like that. But mostly upset they were about the other countries who took everything for granted. Like with Ramsay MacDonald: they "swallowed" him.

WESCHLER: Another question along this line: in what kind of visa situation were you with regard to the French government?

FEUCHTWANGER: That is a law since the revolution to take in everybody who asked for refuge. The other countries made great difficulties, but not the French. Everybody could come in. In Switzerland, they sent people back to Germany, they didn't accept many. And many they interned because they had no permission to work in Switzerland; and when they didn't have any money, they put them in concentration camps. It was very tragic in Switzerland. Of course, we could recognize that it was a small country and they were afraid of Germany because they always thought that Germany could invade them. And also then they had not enough work for their own people maybe. So they were very unkind. Only the rich people in the grand hotel could stay. And some have even been murdered by the Germans. For instance, the brothers Rotter--those were the famous theater people; they had great theaters in Berlin--

they came to Switzerland by train, I think, and were already on the other side. But the Nazis followed them, and they were just going down a kind of embankment when one was killed and the other could escape. I think he was wounded.

WESCHLER: That conflicts somewhat with the image that Switzerland has as having been throughout history a place for political refugees.

FEUCHTWANGER: Many single refugees, refugees, yes, like Trotsky or Lenin or so, but not when they came in bundles, and not with their families. Usually there was one or another coming, and mostly that was more in French Switzerland; in Geneva there were lots of those people. But in France they were really --but also England made great difficulties and interned people. The brother of my husband [Ludwig] was interned on the Island of Man. They didn't even let them in. Finally they did, but it was difficult for everybody.

WESCHLER: Continuing the catalog of people who were in Sanary, you said Arnold Zweig was in Sanary?

FEUCHTWANGER: He came only to visit us. First he came with his wife and his two boys, and then they left for Israel; and then he came again from Israel with his older son, who wanted to go to America. So we saw him then. We brought them with our car from Sanary to Marseilles to the ship.

WESCHLER: I see. Was Ludwig Marcuse in Sanary?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he lived there, too. We didn't know him well before. He was in Frankfurt most of the time. He was a born Berliner, but he lived in Frankfurt, so when he came to see us--everybody came first to see us--then we met his wife, too. He had a very nice little house. It was not bigger than this room, I think. Yes, not bigger than this room.

WESCHLER: This is a fair-sized room, but not too big.

FEUCHTWANGER: No, really not. He worked--he was more simple than even I would be. He worked on the terrace. There was a little terrace where they ate, of course, and they had always also visitors, and for eating she [Sascha Marcuse] was very sociable and had always cooked something for the visitors. They worked on the outside. This little house was in the middle of a garden--I think it belonged to a gardener--but not a garden like we had, too, with the vegetables: it was a flower garden. So it was surrounded by beautiful flowers. It was like an impressionist picture. And there he lived. But it was not possible to heat, so in winter he went to Paris. But in summer he was always in this little house. Very primitive. And he liked to write. He said, "You know, when I'm writing I don't even know where I am. I just want to write; that's all I want to do, writing." And everybody came, the very good friends--Schickele, Toller--and they were thus a kind of iron center, because they came

every year again.

WESCHLER: Like a magnet. How about Heinrich Mann? Was he there?

FEUCHTWANGER: Heinrich Mann lived first in Nice, I think. Yes, he came to Nice. He didn't have to leave, of course. And then he came also to Bandol. He didn't find something to live there; there was no house for him. They were all gone already, the little houses, and he wanted a very little house--he didn't have so much money anymore. He earned enough money in the beginning of the twenties, you know, when his books which were prohibited came out, but then.... You know the writers always.... And then he was married with a very rich woman, but he divorced her, so he didn't have much money in Berlin. So he lived in a very small house, and he came sometimes walking from Bandol to Sanary, to this house. (You know we had two different houses in Sanary. I speak now from the first house, which was on this cliff.) And he came--sometimes he walked alone--just came on foot, and I brought him back with my car. I remember once it was a terrible tempest and a terrible rain; it was just a torrent--the water came like a river down--and I brought him back. We couldn't even see anything; you saw only yourself in the windshield. And it was very difficult to go from this peninsula. You had to go on very narrow little path up and down--no street, you know. When another car would have come,

we never could have passed. Fortunately, there was no other car. So we went there, and there was deep water in the ruts. Finally we came to the road, to the highway, and from there it was easier. Then I brought him to his house, and I had to turn around my car before his house. But he didn't enter in his house: he stood outside, until I have turned around the car, with his hat in his hand until I had left. He was really a grand seigneur, you know; he was the last knight, you could say. He didn't go into his house as long as I was there. It was fantastic.

WESCHLER: You mentioned that he, among the German emigrés, was extremely important.

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, he was. He was very.... He was more recognized than any other writer in France. For a long time, he was in Paris, and he was in touch with the great writers in Paris. And also they made this big Congress of the Burned Books. Without him, they never would have made it.

WESCHLER: Can you describe that a little bit?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know if he has instigated it, but because he was so popular there and so estimated.... He wasn't a man who would be "popular"; he was too much of a grand seigneur.

WESCHLER: Respected.

FEUCHTWANGER: Respected, ja. And that was a big affair.

WESCHLER: What did that consist in? What was it?

FEUCHTWANGER: There came all the writers who were emigrants, and also French writers and some English writers. And

[André] Malraux was the president of the whole thing. There was a big congress with speeches, and there was also....

Malraux was the president of the PEN Club in those days, although later it was Jules Romains. But I remember that Malraux spoke about Franco, because there was also emigration from Franco's Spain. And he spoke about this wonderful writer who has been killed by Franco.

WESCHLER: Federico Garcia Lorca.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja, Lorca. He spoke, in French, of course, about this pure writer. He wanted to say that he was nothing else but a writer, a pure poet. And then the Spanish delegate jumped up and shouted at Malraux that this man was a traitor and all kinds of things, and it was a great, great scandal how he behaved. The day before we had been at the reception of the Spanish in the great Hotel Georges Cinq (it was one of the best hotels). There was a big reception of the Spanish delegates, and we all were there, and then on the next day he behaved like that.

WESCHLER: This was a world congress of emigrés in Paris at that time?

FEUCHTWANGER: It was the PEN Club and also one which was called the Day of the Burned Books. There was also a big

exhibition of the burned books [Bibliothek der verbrannten Bücher]. And there I met for the first time Anna Seghers, who was later in Mexico (there had been made a movie out of her book, The Seventh Cross [Das siebte Kreuz]; it was a famous movie in those days). And everybody came there who was still in Europe. Not from America, I don't remember. But English writers and French writers and also Emigration, the great Emigration. And at the PEN Club, my husband has been named the German delegate, the president of the German delegation. That's why he was received by [Albert] Lebrun, the [French] president. The Germans from Hitler Germany were not allowed to come. It was very unusual, because before they always said no politics has to do with the PEN Club--it's only a kind of republic of writers. But they didn't allow a delegation of the Nazis. So my husband was the president of the German delegation, which were only emigrants, of course.

WESCHLER: Did that have any practical consequences or was it mainly honorary?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, the only practical consequences was maybe that the government was more relenting to the Emigration, you know, because they saw what an important thing it is. Because you can't--maybe those officials in the government usually didn't know very much about literature or so. Nobody knew anything about Thomas Mann, for instance, who was not

much translated in those days yet. Heinrich Mann was better known, and my husband (his books were translated), although Thomas Mann received the Nobel prize. It was Heinrich Mann who played a greater role in France.

WESCHLER: Looking at all the writers we've been talking about, how was it with their writing? Were some of them unable to write in exile in France, or did they all continue writing?

FEUCHTWANGER: They should have been unable, because they really didn't have much to eat; but sometimes, somehow, they managed, with also the help of the French writers and so, the people. But it was very sad, a very sad position for many. Mostly in Paris it was worse than on the Riviera, because in Paris it was also in a way more expensive, and then in a great city, you also get lost more. It's also more difficult to find help. And it has been said that many took out of the garbage cans something to eat.

WESCHLER: Do you know of any writers who became unable to write in exile?

FEUCHTWANGER: They were unable to write because they had no stay, and they had no--but I wouldn't know. They tried to write; everybody tried to write probably. But I wouldn't know what happened in Paris; that was quite a different kind of thing.

WESCHLER: But the writers in Sanary continued writing, all

of them?

FEUCHTWANGER: Yes, they could write all the time. They had also--there were newspapers, two German newspapers in Paris. One was the Paris Gazette [actually Pariser Tageblatt], I think it was called, and its publisher was the man who was the publisher before of the Vossische Zeitung, Georg Bernhard. He was a famous newspaper writer of the Ullsteins. And this publisher of the Vossische Zeitung was in Paris and published this newspaper. Of course, many people subscribed it, like we too, also. And then Leopold Schwarzschild published his periodical [the Neue Tagebuch]. And everybody who worked for those papers--except my husband; he didn't accept any pay--had been paid when they worked. So people who had any name could make--not a good living, but at least they didn't die, they didn't starve.

WESCHLER: What was the situation with regard to publication and royalties? When a German writer in exile had written a book--you've mentioned Querido in Amsterdam--what were some of the other houses that were publishing German writers?

FEUCHTWANGER: There was another publisher in Holland. I forgot his name. [Walter Landauer's Allert de Lange]

WESCHLER: Was it mainly in Holland that German writers were published?

FEUCHTWANGER: Only in Holland, because in Holland they spoke a lot of German; it was very.... Later on there was also in

Sweden several publishers who also published books of my husband. One was Gottfried Bermann-Fischer.

WESCHLER: And how about royalties?

FEUCHTWANGER: Nothing was changed. When somebody had a success, he got royalties; when he had no success, he didn't get any royalties.

WESCHLER: They all came directly? There weren't agencies in Germany which were taking in money and not returning them to writers, for instance?

FEUCHTWANGER: But they didn't send the money to Germany.

WESCHLER: This was a problem with composers, very often, that the German performing rights societies did not any longer give money to composers. But that was not a similar problem for the writers?

FEUCHTWANGER: I don't know about--what was that? But when a composer composed in another country and had there a publisher, he wouldn't send the money to Germany.

WESCHLER: It was necessary to get whole new arrangements for composers with performing rights societies like ASCAP and BMI. That's a different story. But that was not as much a problem for writers?

FEUCHTWANGER: I know only that lots of my husband's books have been sold by the Germans. They pretended that they have burned them, but they burned only one copy, and the others they sold. And this was a terrible damage, of course,

because my husband didn't get the royalties. They sold them to all the German-speaking countries: in Austria, in Switzerland, even in Israel they sold the books of my husband (they didn't know that the money went all to Germany). And for Querido it was a great damage, because when he offered the books in Switzerland, they said, "Yes, we have already the books. We bought them already." The bookshops had already German books, and the royalties went back to Germany. But that was because the Germans sold them for what they called valuta; they got dollars for them. And poor Querido, he printed all the books and they were already sold, mostly with those who were famous in those days and had big editions. With the less-known writers, they didn't make the big editions, so there was much less damage.

WESCHLER: Well, I think we will stop for today. When we continue next week, I'd like to talk a bit more about life in France, and any anecdotes you have, but also....

FEUCHTWANGER: But also my accident. That happened then: I had this terrible accident.

WESCHLER: Well, actually we have time to talk about the accident today--there is a little bit more tape--so if you want to tell that story right now, we can do that.

FEUCHTWANGER: Once I went to Sanary, to the village, to pick up Arnold Zweig and Bertolt Brecht, to bring them to

our house so we would sit together in the evening, what we often did. I brought them back with my car [the Renault], and I held the gears so that even on this very narrow hill street--it was not high, but it was very narrow and mountainous and hilly--it was all right. I turned around the car when they arrived so I could right away go back with them later. I put the brakes on, and I put the gear in reverse. Everything was right. I went out. All of a sudden, when we came out, there was a rain of meteorites. It rained meteors. It was a beautiful, clear night, full of stars, and the meteors rained down.

WESCHLER: Down to the earth?

FEUCHTWANGER: Down. It was beautiful. I remember it was the ninth of October [1933]. It never happened before--such a rain, such a shower of meteorites. Big meteors. They didn't hit us because they were usually extinct before they came to the earth. But it was all around.

WESCHLER: But they landed on the ground near you?

FEUCHTWANGER: No, I told you, they didn't, because they were extinct always. They explode in the air usually, and it's very rare that a meteor comes down. But it was just a shower of big, long--it was more like fireworks, you know. And all over the Mediterranean--it was a very clear night--you could see them: it looked like they were falling in the sea. We had never known beforehand something like

that. So we came just out of my little car, we saw that, and Brecht said, "Let's go down to the beach"--you know, our private beach--"because then we wouldn't be disturbed from the light of the house and can see better the whole spectacle." So he went down the hill on foot with Zweig, and I went into the house and said, "Lion, come fast, come out. Brecht and Zweig are already down on our beach"--he didn't even know about it; he was inside the house--"to see the meteorites." So he came out and went also down the hill, the very steep street, and I followed him.

All of a sudden, when he was already half-down and he met the two others--I saw the three standing there--my car moved. I was out of the car. Moved and went by me. It just moved. And I was...they were directly...it rolled directly in the direction of the three men. So I jumped up from outside, and through the window I wanted to brake the car. [But the handle] didn't move because it was already braked so fast. The brakes underneath were broken: the reverse gear had jumped out, what it did very often, but the brakes were broken, too. And the car was just running. So I jumped on the running board, turned the steering wheel to the other side, and the car--one of the wheels came into a rut--overturnd to the left and rolled over me (I was lying underneath), landed on the other side of the street, and went up again. Was straight in the same direction. And

I was lying there. I touched myself: I didn't feel anything at all; it seemed good. And then, all of a sudden, I felt here, and that was all blood. My hand was full of blood. I had a compound fracture of the ankle. They later found that the ankle was broken into twelve pieces, and above the shin was broken, and that too was compound.

So there I was lying, and then I shouted down--the secretary, Lola, was still up [at the house], and she came out when I shouted so much--I said, "Lion, come up. I'm lying here." And then Brecht came also, and I said to Brecht, "Give me your belt so I can stop the blood." I've told you that we had no telephone, and it was night, so the two men wouldn't know how to go there, to the village. So I said, "I have a flashlight in the car. Take the flashlight and go to Huxley's." I said, "You follow the road behind, just follow the road, it goes around--there is no other road--just follow the road and then it comes to the house of Huxley. There they have a telephone." So the two men went there with my flashlight and told the Huxleys that I am lying down here and that they need a doctor and an ambulance. Mrs. Huxley was very, absolutely fantastic, so efficient. She called the doctor, who came, a very old doctor. (I asked the doctor for morphine, because I thought maybe I would have a terrible pain afterwards.) And then she also telephoned to Toulon, which was two hours away, to

send an ambulance. Then she waited at the beginning of the peninsula, on the road; she waited for them, [otherwise] they would never have found where we lived. So she waited, in the middle of the night, waited for the ambulance. The doctor told me he wouldn't give me any morphine. He has it with him, he said, but it's better not. I wanted it because I knew my husband would accompany me in the ambulance, and I wanted to speak with him. I thought I cannot speak when I have so much pain. But I don't remember, even without morphine, that I had any pain. It was perhaps the shock. I only told my husband that I probably am dying, because these compound fractures were always deadly in those times, and it was infected. It was raining before, and I was lying in the mud with the wound, so I thought there is no doubt it's infected, and I didn't think that I would come through.

We had had the intention to go--several weeks afterwards we wanted to go to Israel, but we never came to Israel because this happened. And I made myself always a remorse. I was very remorseful; I thought something is wrong. It was my fault, I always said. But it wasn't my fault, because Brecht the next day came to see the ruins of the car--the car was still right there. He tried also, and he said he couldn't even loosen it, so strong had I pulled the brake. Later it has been fixed, and I sold the car for the same

price as I paid for it.

WESCHLER: Well, among other parts of this story, you can be credited with saving a big fraction of German literature.

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. If it wasn't for Mrs. Huxley, though, I would never have lived through that. I was in the damp dirt, with an open wound in this dampness, because it had rained so much.

WESCHLER: Did you then become sick?

FEUCHTWANGER: Ja. When I was in Toulon it was.... I got a very good doctor [Dr. Villechaise] who learned about all those things during the First World War. He said he had many experiences like that. He was the first one who could take bullets out of the lung; he made the first operation. That was never before. But he said that almost for a week I was in danger to lose the leg; he said he probably has to amputate the leg under the knee. And he always--everybody wanted to see me, you know, and he said nobody can come in there. The secretary was wild because she was so angry that I didn't receive her. But I didn't know anything; I had nurses--they were nuns, you know, wonderful nurses--and they didn't let her in. She said it was my fault, but I didn't even know she came, because I was with fever. The doctor said that as long as I have fever, I am in danger to have an infection and then he has to amputate. But finally the fever left me, and he didn't have to amputate.

WESCHLER: How long were you in the hospital?

FEUCHTWANGER: A long time. We gave also up our house.

My husband went to Paris, he had something to do there with a newspaper thing, something like that. And also winter came-- it was October--and the house could not be heated. I gave up the house. For a short time the secretary was still there. It was not her fault, but when she wanted to take a bath.... The only thing which [the landlord] really did for us was that there was a bathtub there, but no heating. [So he put in] a gas--butane, it was called; it was hanging--a heater. The gas had to be brought from Toulon in a bottle. So she turned it on, and it exploded, and the whole thing was black. Nothing happened to her, fortunately, but then we had to pay for all that, because he was a lawyer and he took advantage because I was alone.

Later on I came from Toulon to a sanitorium in Bandol. I had a very good doctor; the same doctor who was at that night with me took me there, and he didn't charge anything, except what I had to pay for the room.

WESCHLER: How long were you in the hospital?

FEUCHTWANGER: The whole thing was six months.

WESCHLER: Good Lord. Well, as a footnote--although I suppose that's the wrong word--it should be mentioned that you don't limp at all today.

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